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The Jibaro Dialect of Puerto Rico as Exemplified in Sections of 'La Carreta' by Rene Marques.

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THE JÍBARO DIALECT OF PUERTO RICO AS
EXEMPLIFIED IN SECTIONS OF LA CARRETA
BY RENÉ MARQUÉS.

The Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College,
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**THE JÍBARO DIALECT OF PUERTO RICO AS EXEMPLIFIED
IN SECTIONS OF LA CARRETA BY RENÉ MARQUÉS**

A Dissertation

**Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy**

in

The Department of Speech

by

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B.A. Youngstown State University, 1955
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August, 1971**

EXAMINATION AND THESIS REPORT

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La Carreta by René Marqués

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ABSTRACT

The Jíbaro is the native of Puerto Rico whose socio-economic status is below middle class, putting him in the majority. His speech is distinctive and has been studied and reported upon, but only in Spanish. This study is an attempt to codify in English what differences exist between his language and that of other Spanish Americans and demonstrate them.

The ethnic background of the Jíbaro is quite diverse and includes: 1) the native Indian peoples, 2) the Spanish settlers and their descendants, 3) African and Indian slaves and sharecroppers, and 4) the North American conquerors, governors, and residents. These peoples had their effect on the speech of the island. The effect was strongest in lexicon and phonology, but also was felt in morphology and syntax.

Lexical items peculiar to Puerto Rico are taken from 1) Spanish archaisms, 2) Indian words, 3) African names for flora, fauna, dances, and musical instruments. Added to these are the many English words taken into the dialect since the American occupation.

The morphology of the Jíbaro dialect is not greatly deviant from that of American Spanish. The Puerto Rican prefers /-ito/ to all other diminutives, even after stems ending in t. He prefers using gran or grande to adding an augmentative ending. The suffix /-ngo/ is frequent and is of African origin. There is a tendency to make compound adjectives from an adjective and a noun. The second person singular preterit

indicative has an /-s/ affixed inappropriately. There is some confusion of gender and number in nouns.

The deviations in syntax are not many. Among those noted by various authorities are: 1) redundant use of subject pronouns, 2) formation of a present progressive form, 3) overuse of the passive voice, 4) placing the adverb between the auxiliary and the participle, 5) redundant use of the possessives, 6) substitution of the article for aquel in all its forms, 7) redundant use of uno, 8) agreement of the present participle with the enclitic pronoun, and 9) the use of ir + a (to go to) in place of the future tense.

The most deviant characteristic of the Jíbaro dialect is the phonology. We may list: 1) the loss of final [s] or its replacement with [h] or [x], 2) loss of intervocalic [ð], 3) leveling or exchange of [l] and [r], 4) the use of [tʃ] and its voiced counterpart [dʒ] in place of [tʃ] and [dʒ], 5) the invariable use of [ɸ] for [f], 6) the aspiration of initial h, 7) the invariable use of [ɣ] for absolute final n, 8) the use of a uvular trill or spirant for rr and initial r, 9) the occasional use of [ɲ] for ll, and 10) a general lowering of [i], [e], [o] and [u] in unstressed syllables.

Sections of La carreta by René Marqués are included and transcribed into the Jíbaro dialect, using the orthographic indications given by the author and information gleaned from authorities on Spanish phonology. Non-standard words from the play are listed and defined in the glossary, and are asterisked in the sections transcribed.

A selected bibliography and a curriculum vitae of René Marqués are included.

INTRODUCTION

The Jíbaro dialect of Spanish has been largely ignored by English-speaking writers, but has been studied at some length by Spanish-speaking writers. Tomás Navarro Tomás has written a study of Puerto Rican Spanish called *El español en Puerto Rico*.¹ In this study he analyzes the phonetics, grammar, and lexicon of the dialect. He also divides the island into zones according to various features of the language in some seventy-five attached maps. There are, however, several difficulties, the major one being that the study is entirely in Spanish and is thus not available to the dialectician who does not read that language. Further, the transcription of the dialect is very limited, being only five pages in length. Navarro Tomás used forty-three illiterate informants for his study. Each of these informants was from a different municipio, roughly equivalent to a county. He chose as informants people who are from rural areas and would thus fit the definition of a Jíbaro given by the Diccionario de la lengua española authorized by the Real Academia Española.²

jíbaro, ra. adj. Amer. Campesino, silvestre. Dícese de las personas, los animales, las costumbres, las prendas de vestir y de algunas otras cosas. Fiesta Jíbara. Apl. a pers., u. t. c. s.

¹Tomás Navarro Tomás, El español en Puerto Rico (Rio Piedras: Editorial Universitaria, Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1966).

²Real Academia Española, Diccionario de la lengua española (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1970).

That is:

...rustic, uncultivated. Said of persons, animals, customs, clothing and other things. Fiesta Jíbara. Applied to persons, used also as a noun.

Santamaría adds to this definition in his Diccionario de americanismos.³

JÍBARO, RA. Adj. Rústico, campesino, silvestre. Dícese de personas, animales, costumbres, prendas de vestir y de algunas otras cosas. Fiesta Jíbara. muy usado también como sustantivo con relación a persona. --2. Dícese del animal doméstico que se vuelve montaraz. U. T. C. S. --3. m. y f. Por antonomasia, en Puerto Rico, llamase así el campesino, que corresponde más o menos al guajiro, de Cuba; campirano, montuno, charro y jarocho, de Mejico; llanero, de Venezuela; chagra, del Ecuador; gaucho, de Rioplatea; guasos, de Chile; vale, de Santo Domingo.

That is:

...Rustic, rural, uncultivated. Said of persons, animals, customs, clothing and other things. Fiesta Jibara, much used as a substantive with relation to people. 2. Said of the domestic animal which turns wild. Used also as a substantive. 3. masculine and feminine. Used as a class noun, in Puerto Rico, designating the rustic, which corresponds, more or less to the guajiro of Cuba; campirano, montuno, charro y jarocho of Mexico; llanero of Venezuela; chagra of Ecuador; gaucho of River Plate; guasos of Chile; vale of Santo Domingo.

It would be well to add that the term Jíbaro is used with various meanings, just as the term "Yankee" is used in English. In fact, the terms may be said to be equivalent. Both may be used in complimentary or pejorative ways. Both may mean a particular kind of person, or a class of people. Both terms may mean a native of a specific area or any national. Therefore, the terms "Puerto Rican" and Jíbaro are at times synonymous. In this study the term Jíbaro will be used to apply

³Francisco J. Santamaría, Diccionario general de americanismos (México, D.F.: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1942).

only to the rural, uneducated Puerto Rican. "Puerto Rican" will be used to include the national at all levels of society. In translations from other writers, this writer has no choice but to use the designation used by that writer.

Canfield in his study La pronunciación del español en America⁴ treats only of specific phenomena such as tongue position in the various sigma sounds and includes Puerto Rico only in passing as a part of larger linguistic areas. This information is useful, but it is, again, written in Spanish. Zamora Vincente⁵ gives various information on American Spanish, but does not give specific information on Puerto Rico except in passing. This is again in Spanish. Rosenblat has very limited, chiefly lexical, information in his El castellano de España y el castellano de América.⁶ Again it is entirely in Spanish.

The other two major works treating of the dialect as a whole are by Manuel Álvarez Nazario. They are El elemento afronegroide en el español de Puerto Rico⁷ and El arcaísmo en el español de Puerto Rico.⁸

⁴Delos Lincoln Canfield, La pronunciación del español en America: Ensayo histórico-descriptivo. Biblioteca de Publicaciones del Instituto Caro y Guervo, Vol. XVII, (Bogotá: Instituto Caro y Guervo, 1962).

⁵Alonso Zamora Vincente, Dialectología Española (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, S.A., 1967).

⁶Ángel Rosenblat, El castellano de España y el castellano de América, cuadernos del Instituto de Filología "Andrés Bello", (2nd ed.; Caracas: Universidad Central de Venezuela, Facultad de Humanidades y Educación, 1965).

⁷Manuel Álvarez Nazario, El elemento afronegroide en el español de Puerto Rico (San Juan: Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña, 1961).

⁸Manuel Álvarez Nazario, El arcaísmo en el español de Puerto Rico (Mayagüez, P.R.: Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña, 1957).

Both of these books treat of historical aspects of the dialect with some information on phonetics, morphology and syntax, but are chiefly concerned with lexicon. They also are in Spanish. There are several books which deal with the lexicon of Spanish America: Diccionario de americanismos by Malaret⁹ and Diccionario general de americanismos by Santamaría.¹⁰ Those books treating of the Puerto Rican lexicon are Malaret's Vocabulario de Puerto Rico¹¹ and Rubén del Rosario's Vocabulario puertorriqueño.¹² Another pamphlet by Rubén del Rosario, La lengua de Puerto Rico¹³ deals chiefly with lexicon with some notes on morphology and syntax. Kany's American-Spanish Syntax¹⁴ treats only of syntax as the title suggests and is useful in that area, but only in a limited sense. The syntax of the dialect is not widely divergent from that of peninsular Spanish. Spanish Phonology by James W. Harris¹⁵ is devoted chiefly to the:

...formulation of rules that express generalizations concerning the assimilation of nasals to following obstruents,

⁹Augusto Malaret, Diccionario de americanismos (Buenos Aires: No publisher given, 1946).

¹⁰Op. cit.

¹¹Augusto Malaret, Vocabulario de Puerto Rico (Rev.; New York: Las Américas Publishing Co., 1967).

¹²Rubén del Rosario, Vocabulario puertorriqueño, Puerto Rico: Realidad y Anhelos, No. 1 (Sharon, Conn.: The Troutman Press, 1965).

¹³Rubén del Rosario, La lengua de Puerto Rico (6th ed.; Río Piedras, P.R.: Editorial Cultural, Inc., 1969).

¹⁴Charles E. Kany, American-Spanish Syntax (2nd ed.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951).

¹⁵James W. Harris, Spanish Phonology, Research Monograph No. 54 (Cambridge, Mass.: The M.I.T. Press, 1969).

the phonological and phonetic representation of glides, and the characterization in terms of distinctive features of the various flapped and trilled r-type phones of Spanish.¹⁶

These rules are of some import to the study. But since the study deals with the Spanish of Mexico City, the usefulness is marginal at best. Sableski¹⁷ has written a study on the Spanish of Panama, again of some interest, but not immediately applicable. Harris states:

There does not exist for Spanish anything equivalent to, for example, Kenyon and Knott (1953), A Pronouncing Dictionary of American English, and the state of the study of Spanish dialectology is deplorable by the standards of such work in other major languages.¹⁸

These then are the only books in English that are of any utility for this study. Also in English and of greater use but smaller scope as it deals only with phonology is the chapter on "Spanish, Including Mexican" in Claude Merton Wise's book entitled Applied Phonetics.¹⁹ Thus it may be seen that the major portion of work done on Puerto Rican Spanish has been done in Spanish. This study will be devoted to the explication in English of the phonology, morphology, syntax, and lexicon of the Jíbaro dialect and of Puerto Rican Spanish as a whole, when those features are found in the speech of persons at all levels of society. Added to this will be a brief study of the ethnic background of the Jíbaro which has given rise to these phenomena.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 2.

¹⁷J. A. Sableski, A Generative Phonology of a Spanish Dialect (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1965).

¹⁸Harris, Spanish Phonology, p. 3.

¹⁹Claude Merton Wise, Applied Phonetics (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1957).

It will be necessary to study the ethnic background of the Puerto Rican in general, in order that we may understand what the racial and cultural components of his present aspect are. For this we must discover: 1) how much of the indigenous Indian remain, 2) how much of him is basically Spanish, 3) how great is the influence of Negro heritage and bloodlines, 4) how much of the culture is American and 5) what other influences have been of importance in his make-up.

As a corollary to the ethnic components of the Jíbaro himself, his language may well be influenced by these same sources. Therefore, we must discover whether or not the lexicon used in the dialect contains any Indian words, African words, or Americanisms. In addition we must see what sort of Spanish vocabulary was brought to the island and how it has changed in four and one-half centuries.

In a like manner this writer will attempt to discover what deviations in morphology and syntax, if any, exist in the Jibaro dialect: are there roots, stems, and affixes taken from other languages; are there grammatical structures or morphological features borrowed from other languages; and are these deviations peculiar to Puerto Rico.

A casual meeting with a Puerto Rican shows that there are deviations from standard Spanish in phonology, but for a study of this sort it is necessary to discover what those deviations are in far greater detail. For this study the major authorities on Puerto Rican Spanish will be culled for deviations from the standard. Those deviations will be listed and documented. The influence of assimilation will be shown and a phrase structure of phonology constructed.

Necessary to such a study is a corpus of material through which the various aspects of the dialect may be demonstrated. Since plays

are concerned for the most part with spoken language, a play written in an approximation of the dialect would seem to be the most appropriate source of the various aspects of the dialect, barring the replication of the work of Tomás Navarro Tomás²⁰ or a translation of it. (El español en Puerto Rico comes closest to, but falls short of, being a complete description of the dialect.) No complete description exists and all of the major source works are in Spanish.

Much of the drama of Puerto Rico has dealt with the Spanish traditions of the island and is either set in Spain or deals only with the transplanted Spaniard. This is especially true of the works written prior to 1852. In that year a Venezuelan named Roberto C. T. Caballero wrote a play called El juego de gallos published in part in El elemento afronegroide en el español de Puerto Rico by Álvarez Nazario.²¹ This play was the first to have a character in it that could be identified as a native Puerto Rican of the lower class. In the last century more than seventy plays have appeared to augment the literature of Puerto Rico, and of this number many have dealt with the Jíbaro. However, only René Marqués has written a full length play that is entirely in a form of written dialect. That play is La carreta.²² La carreta is chosen not only because it is the only full length play in an orthographic representation of the dialect. It is chosen because of its intrinsic worth and because of the stature of its author. La carreta has been called the best of Puerto Rican plays. As Willis

²⁰Op. cit.

²¹Op. cit., pp. 387-93.

²²René Marqués, La carreta (Rio Piedras, P.R.: Editorial Cultural, 1963).

Knapp Jones states in Behind Spanish American Footlights:

...Marqués in La carreta (1950) wrote the utter tragedy of an old jíbaro Chago, forced from the land he loves, and of his descendants unable to adjust in New York.²⁵ The play is more than costumbrismo. In Marqués' handling of the tribulations of the family, it becomes clear that the influence of Sartre and Camus have reached Puerto Rico. A number of critics consider this symbolic play not only the best in Puerto Rico, but outstanding in Latin American drama because of its deep feeling, dramatic action, and brilliant dialog.²³

²⁵Published in Asomante, VIII, No. 4 (1951), and IX, Nos. 1 and 3 (1952). See also Maria Teresa Babin, "Apuntes para La carreta," Asomante, X, No. 4 (1953).

The play was written in 1950, produced in New York in 1950, and published in Asomante in 1951, according to Jones.²⁴ This, however, was only the first act, or as is stated in the publication, the first of a trilogy of one-act plays. Each act will stand on its own as a one-act play, but Marques seems to consider it now as a single three-act play. The cited edition labels the sections as estampas (images). In further support of its being a three act play his curriculum vitae shows the publication date and date of first production as 1953.

The first production was given in New York by Nuevo Circulo Dramatico, who produced it again in 1954 and 1955. Other productions include those given by Teatro Experimental del Ateneo, Puerto Rico, 1953; Teatro Nuestro, Puerto Rico, 1954, in the Teatro Tapia; Teatro Alcazar, Caguas, Puerto Rico, 1954; Teatro Nacional Maria Guerrero, Madrid, 1958; Festival de Teatro Puertorriqueno, in the Teatro Tapia,

²³Willis Knapp Jones, Behind Spanish American Footlights (Austin: University of Texas, 1966), p. 374.

²⁴Loc. cit.

1961; University of Buffalo, 1966; and an expurgated English translation by Charles Pilditch²⁵ presented at the Greenwich Mews Theatre, New York, from December 10, 1966 to March 12, 1967. The 1961 production took first prize in the theatre festival.

The play has been published in its entirety in Asomante, 1953;²⁶ by the Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña in 1961;²⁷ by Librería Cultural San Juan in 1963 and 1967. It has been translated into Czech and Swedish.

René Marqués is more than a playwright. He has won prizes in reporting, short story writing, and essay writing (see Appendix I). His novel La víspera del hombre²⁸ was awarded first prize by the Ateneo Puertorriqueño in 1958 and the prize for Spanish American novel by the William Faulkner Foundation in 1962. Willis Knapp Jones says of him, "Best of the island's dramatists, and deserving a place among the best in Latin America is René Marqués (1919-), also a critic and short story writer."²⁹

Marqués is quite prolific. He has done reportage and criticism

²⁵René Marqués, The Oxcart, trans. by Charles Pilditch (Totowa, N.J.: Charles Scribners & Sons, 1969).

²⁶Vol. X, No. 3, San Juan.

²⁷Teatro Puertorriqueño: Cuarto Festival del Teatro Puertorriqueño, (San Juan: Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña, 1961).

²⁸René Marqués, La víspera del hombre (San Juan: Club de Libro de Puerto Rico, 1959).

²⁹Op. cit., p. 373.

for sixteen newspapers. He has a volume of published poetry. He has written thirteen plays. He has had published three volumes of short stories and one of essays. There are numerous other published materials. All of these are listed in the Appendix.

Both the playwright and the play are worthy of consideration in and of themselves, but for the purposes of this study only the linguistic aspects of the dialog will be considered. For comparison of the respelling with the phonetic phenomena noted by the authorities already mentioned some speeches of every character and from all three acts will be selected for transcription into the International Phonetic Alphabet.

This study, then, will include also transcription of sections of La carreta using the dialectal differences shown by Marqués. These sections are reproduced with written permission of the author. Marqués can show only the most deviant of differences in using standard orthography, e.g. the substitution of l for r, the loss of final s or its replacement by aspiration, shown as h. Therefore, the above listed works will be used to supplement Marqués dialect writing and a more accurate description given by use of the International Phonetic Alphabet. Deviations from standard American Spanish will be shown by giving a transcription of the standard form immediately below the variant. Deviations from standard Spanish in lexicon will be shown by placing an asterisk after such deviations and including a glossary of such lexical items. The glossary will include lexicon from the entire play and not just the sections transcribed.

It would seem then that an analysis of 1) the ethnic background of Jíbaro, 2) the sources of the Puerto Rican lexicon, 3) deviations

in lexicon and syntax, 4) deviations in phonology with an extensive corpus, glossary, and notes on the author of the corpus included would be of value to the linguist who does not read Spanish with any great facility. It would be of interest also to any person who is involved in the teaching of Puerto Ricans, in that the instructor could be acquainted with the phenomena of the student's native language without having to know the language itself. By extension, the teacher of any Spanish speaker from the Greater Antilles and the coastal areas surrounding the Caribbean would be aided, since the literature frequently attributes phonological phenomena to all of this area. And as Harris states:

Of the major world languages, Spanish is perhaps the least well studied in the context of recent linguistic theory. With regard to Spanish phonology in particular, few studies relevant to current theoretical issues have found their way into print.³⁰

³⁰Op. cit., p. 1.

ETHNIC BACKGROUND OF THE JÍBARO

In order to describe the ethnic background of the Jíbaro, it is necessary to further define the term. Its use is varied as to meaning and application. The term can be used in a pejorative or a complimentary way. It is also used in different ways in different areas of Puerto Rico. Steward et al. state that Jíbaros are, "rural, backward, unsophisticated folk"¹ They also report that the peasantry hold less than thirty cuerdas of land and that small farmers hold more, but that both are Jíbaros, (Marqués uses exactly that sum of land in his first act). They also mention that the people of Altura, Manicaboa call the people of Limones Jíbaros. The cane workers call the mountain people Jíbaros. The town people use the term for the cane workers, and the people of San Juan call the country people Jíbaros in the sense of "hayseed" or "hick." They conclude:

Jíbaro is thus a term which denotes a degree of backwardness relative to the cultural position of the speaker. Its meaning tends to change, as the position of the speaker changes.²

From an economic standpoint the Jíbaro is of the lower or working class. He may or may not own land. If he does own land, it is not in any large amount. He identifies himself as a peón, or a laborer, a poor man, a worker. (In the corpus, Don Chago calls himself a peón and

¹Julian H. Steward, et al. The People of Puerto Rico: A Study in Social Anthropology (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1956) p. 203.

²Loc. cit.

Miguel is so identified.) Tumin reported in 1961 that these were, "three nominal classes but only two functional classes."³ These latter two are upper and lower. He also reports, "The major distinction among these classes is income and what it can buy, with level of education of secondary importance."⁴

From a racial standpoint the "preponderance of the self-termed darkest people are in the lowest classes."⁵ The darkest skin color group is also the lowest group in amount of education. "Ninety percent of the lowest classes have no education and fifty percent of them are of the darkest skin color."⁶ We may be able to point to 1) manual labor, 2) darkness of skin, 3) lack of education, and 4) low income as being characteristic of the Jíbaro.

The apparent darkness of skin color may come from either Negro or Indian blood, or more probably a mixture of both. The ethnic background of the Jíbaro is quite complex and deserves further comment since it influences the speech of the Jíbaro. The background includes: 1) the Taino branch of the Arawak Indians and their antecedents, 2) the Spanish conquistadores and settlers, 3) native-born Spanish and those with mixed blood, 4) Africans and Indian slaves, 5) North American and other immigrants. Let us examine each of these groups in some detail.

³Melvin M. Tumin with Arnold S. Feldman, Social Class and Social Change in Puerto Rico (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1961) p. 157.

⁴Loc. Cit.

⁵Tumin, p. 159.

⁶Ibid. p. 158-9.

Indigenous Peoples

The earliest inhabitants of Puerto Rico may have been the Ciboney. By the time that Columbus discovered Puerto Rico (1493), the Ciboney were restricted to western Cuba, Florida, and the small keys off Cuba. They were probably from the southeastern United States. Their culture, social organization and religion were "quite primitive."⁷ They were a fishing people and were semi-nomadic. They had no pottery. The earliest date of their arrival in Puerto Rico, if they did arrive, is not known. If they did indeed arrive, they were supplanted by the Igneri in approximately the tenth century.

The Igneri were of South American origin. These people had the most elaborate pottery of the Caribbean region. They did not, however, have zemis, the carved religious idols. A lack of these suggests that they were not highly ceremonial and were lacking in class structure. Such structure was based on the possession of zemis. These Igneri were part of the Arawak peoples.

From about 1200 A.D. on the Arawaks spread their influence into most of the remainder of the Caribbean area. The culture remained basically Igneria in Trinidad and the Lesser Antilles but developed into Taino in the Greater Antilles. This culture was characterized by strong social classes and ceremonial religion, both of which were marked by the possession of zemis. The people lived in thatched houses or mud-

⁷Irving Rouse, "The Southeast and the West Indies" in The Florida Indian and His Neighbors. John W. Griffin, Ed. (Winter Park, Florida: Inter-American Center - Rollins College, 1949), p. 117.

daub houses. (These styles still persist among the Jibaros.) They had stone implements, ball courts, petroglyphs and other artifacts that characterize the South and Central American Indian cultures. Pottery was extensively used.

It is believed by some that the Indian vanished from Puerto Rico after they were conquered in 1509. They became slaves of the Spaniards and produced children by them. As Steward, et al. put it:

The prevalent belief that the Indian element in the population became extinct is based upon a confusion of cultural assimilation with biological extinction. Although the population today is extremely mixed racially, there is considerable evidence of Indian physical features.⁸

Extinction would have been difficult, even for the Spanish, who were expert. Fewkes⁹ finds that there were approximately thirty thousand Indians in Puerto Rico at the time of the conquest. (Stewart, et al, report fifty thousand.¹⁰) Fewkes also states that Indian slaves were brought from Mexico, Cuba, Jamaica, Haiti, the Bahamas, and the Lesser Antilles.¹¹ This would include various tribes from Mexico (Aztec, Maya, Zapotec, Toltec, etc.) and sub-Taino, Carib, Igneri, and Ciboney from the other areas mentioned.

Fewkes¹² agrees that the contemporary Puerto Rican shows marked Indian features, especially in the mountainous areas. He mentions in

⁸Op. cit., p. 35.

⁹Jesse Walter Fewkes, The Aborigines of Porto Rico and Neighboring Islands, 25th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1903-1904 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1907), p23.

¹⁰Op. cit., p. 35.

¹¹Op. cit., p.25.

¹²Ibid. p.24.

particular mixtures of white and Indian, Negro and Indian and various combinations of the three. These mountain peoples are the Jíbaros of Puerto Rico.

Conquistadores and Settlers

Although Columbus discovered the island in 1493, no permanent settlement was made on the island before 1508, when Juan Ponce de León conquered it and called the island Isla de San Juan Bautista de Puerto Rico. Somehow the island has become Puerto Rico and the port is called San Juan, the reverse of Ponce de Leon's intention. About two hundred Spaniards settled in the island, but Indian raids had reduced that number to about one hundred by 1511. By 1515 the number had risen to about 350 and by 1530 there were nearly six hundred white settlers. Coll y Toste¹³ reports 150 white households in Puerto Rico by 1556, and Lopez de Velasco reported 200 vecinos (households) in San Juan, fifty in San German, thirty in Arecibo, or about 1,400 whites in all by 1571.¹⁴ In 1596 a smallpox epidemic reduced the total population of the island to five thousand, but Coll y Toste¹⁵ reports 700 vecinos (about 3,500 whites) in 1646. It must be remembered that not all of these settlers were Spanish. Spain permitted settlement by people from other Catholic countries.

¹³Cayetano Coll y Toste, ed. "La propiedad territorial en Puerto Rico," Boletín Histórico de Puerto Rico, (San Juan: Cantero Fernandez, 1914), pp. 239-310.

¹⁴Juan Lopez de Velasco, "Descripción de la Isla de San Juan de Puerto Rico en 1571 por el comografo cronista Juan Lopez de Velasco," Boletín Histórico de Puerto Rico, Vol. X (San Juan: Cantero Fernandez, 1914), pp. 86-95.

¹⁵Op. cit., p. 266.

The island became isolated from the rest of the world in 1711. By royal decree the Puerto Ricans were limited to trade with Seville, and only that port. The decree cannot have had much effect on the population or immigration; by 1761 the population of the island had grown to 44,000. About ten percent of these were slaves and by this time the Indian had ceased to exist as a separate entity.

The original conquistadores were chiefly from the South of Spain, as were the original settlers. They were from Andalucia and Estremadura, and to a lesser degree from Castile, Vasconia and Galicia. During the period of initial settlement the Spanish were of three classes: 1) professional soldiers, 2) various ranks of clergy, 3) civilian adventurers who were part of the militia, when the need arose. They were of the lower classes for the most part, and thus not educated. These people subsisted on payments exacted from other parts of the empire and by growing what crops they needed for their own use. The economy based on sugarcane and coffee had not yet begun, but there was a large traffic in contraband and considerable piracy.

Planting in the island did not have any real economic force until after 1518, when Carlos I (who was to become Carlos V of the Holy Roman Empire the following year) granted Laurent de Gouvenat, his favorite flamenco, the privilege of importing four thousand slaves from Africa. The importation of slaves opened commerce as well as planting. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the greatest number of colonists came from Granada in Andalucia, and from Estremadura. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries they came from Leon, Asturias, Galicia (where a dialect of Portuguese is spoken), and Mallorca.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the period of the wars of independence, many middle-class Venezuelans came to Puerto Rico. They came because they were royalists. Around the middle of the past century, many Corsicans emigrated to Puerto Rico to work on the coffee plantations.

Thus we have speakers of various dialects of Spanish, Portuguese, and the French-Italian language of Corsica. To these we must add Basque and the various dialects and languages brought to the island with the slaves imported from Africa, languages introduced by the slave trade.

Slaves

Although slave trade was allowed beginning in 1518, as was stated above, Edward E. Dunbar gives the following numbers of imports in his "History of the Rise and Decline of Commercial Slavery in America, with Reference to the Future of Mexico,"¹⁶ as is quoted by Curtin,¹⁷ showing how little importation there was in Puerto Rico in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries:

1500-1525.....	12,500
1525-1550.....	125,000
1550-1600.....	750,000
1600-1650.....	1,000,000
1650-1700.....	1,750,000
1700-1750.....	3,000,000
1750-1800.....	4,000,000
1800-1850.....	3,250,000

¹⁶The Mexican Papers, 1: 177-229 (No. 5, April, 1861) pp. 269-70.

¹⁷Philip D. Curtin, The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census, (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), p. 34.

These figures refer to the importation of slaves for all of the Americas, but the numbers for Puerto Rico given by Curtin¹⁸ are in total slave population.

1765.....	5,000
1794.....	17,500
1802.....	13,300
1812.....	17,500
1820.....	21,700
1827.....	31,900
1830.....	32,200
1834.....	41,800
1846.....	51,300
1854.....	46,900
1860.....	41,700
1867.....	47,000

Among the places of origin of these slaves were: Senegal, Gambia, Guinea, Sierra Leone, Dahomey-Nigeria, Congo-Angola, Luanda, and Mozambique. The greatest number were from the southwest coast of Africa, the Slave Coast. They were chiefly Sudanese and Bantu peoples.

The impact of the Negro on Puerto Rico is greater than these figures would seem to indicate. Manuel Álvarez Nazario states:

Ya para 1530 los negros componen alrededor del 50 por 100 del total de habitantes entonces empadronados, en oposición a los blancos e indios libres o en encomiendas. Para fines de la misma centuria, aun cuando apenas se vienen introduciendo esclavos desde hace tiempo, los negros y mulatos integran un porcentaje ligeramente inferior respecto de los españoles y criollos blancos, de acuerdo con calculos de Coll y Toste. Mediado el siglo XVII, el único censo efectuado, para contar los feligreses de la Capital, revela en 1673 que los esclavos y pardos libres forman allí más de un 56 por 100 del total, situando a los blancos en minoría. Unos cien años despues, el censo general de 1776 pone de manifesto que las personal con sangre africana pura o mezclada representan un 52 por 100 de la población toda del país, manteniendose todavía dicha ventaja al cerrarse

¹⁸Ibid.

el XVIII. Para el XIX las estadísticas conocidas demuestran que aun a mediados del siglo las gentes de color componen más de 51 por 100 del total de habitantes de la Isla, no empeece los refuerzos numericos que ha recibido la población blanca con la llegada a Puerto Rico de inmigrantes de la Península, de Venezuela, de las Antillas francesas, de Luisiana, de Florida. En visperal de la abolición de la esclavitud, sin embargo, ya los blancos están en mayoría, sin duda por la ventaja que para entonces les da el haberse suspendido definitivamente desde hacía algún tiempo la introducción de bozales que vinieran a engrosar el numero de las gentes negroides del país. La fusión de las sangres, que hace decrecer desde antiguo el número de negros puros a la par que aumenta el de los mulatos, progresa todavía más en el presente siglo XX, en dirección de una gradual disolución en Puerto Rico de las cifras de personas de color dentro del número de las blancas. Así, mientras el censo de 1910 revela sendos porcentos de 65,51 y 34,47 para blancos y negros (tanto puros como mezclados), respectivamente el de 1950 indica que el porcentaje de blancos ha subido a 79,72 mientras el de negros se ha reducido a 20,21.¹⁹

That is:

By 1530 Negroes made up about fifty percent of the total inhabitants listed at the time in opposition to the white or Indians paying tribute. By the end of that century even though they were importing slaves for some time, Negroes and mulatos made up a slightly smaller percentage in respect to the Spanish and white Creoles, according to the calculations of Coll y Toste. By the middle of the seventeenth century, the only census made, in order to count the parishoners of the capital, reveals that in 1673 the slaves and free people of color formed more than fifty-six per cent of the total, putting the whites in the minority. One hundred years later the general census of 1776 showed that people of African or mixed blood represented fifty-two per cent of the total population of the country, still maintaining this advantage till the end of the century. For the nineteenth century the known statistics show that even by mid-century more than fifty-one per cent of the inhabitants of the island were colored. The immigration from the peninsula, Venezuela, the French Antilles, Louisiana and Florida had not begun. In the final days of the abolition of slavery, the whites were, nevertheless, in the majority, without doubt because of their having suspended the introduction of Africans, which had tended to enlarge the number of Negroes in the

¹⁹Manuel Álvarez Nazario, El elemento afronegroide en el español de Puerto Rico, (San Juan: Instituto de Cultura Puertorriquena, 1961), p. 374.

country. The fusion of bloods, which since antiquity made the number of pure negroes decrease while making the number of mulatos increase, becomes greater in the twentieth century in the direction of a gradual dissolution in Puerto Rico of the number of colored people in relation to the number of whites. Thus, while the 1910 census indicates that the respective percentages of 65.51 and 34.47 for whites and blacks (pure and Mixed), the census of 1950 indicates that the percentage of whites has risen to 79.72, and that of the Negroes has fallen to 20.21.

Thus the mixture of blood is difficult to assess, but it would be safe to say that the number of people of mixed blood per thousand is greater than that of the United States as a whole. Among the Jibaros the percentage would be even higher, as was noted above. This is in spite of the fact that the term *Jíbaro* is supposed to refer only to white rural people. (See glossary.)

North Americans

The year 1971 marks the four-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of the founding of San Juan, but the four-hundred-and-sixty-third year of Spanish settlement. Spanish culture and the Spanish language held complete sway in the island until 1898, when it became a territory of the United States. From 1898 to 1951 the governors of Puerto Rico were all continental North Americans. The Puerto Rican people were already somewhat familiar with the United States, since they had been trading with the mainland for some time. Despite Spanish bans on trade with other nations, Puerto Rico dealt regularly with the United States. For example, in 1803 she exported over one-quarter million pounds of sugar to her future owner.

In 1900 the Foraker Act put Puerto Rico under civil rather than military government and thus changed the entire political and

economic structure of the island. The heads of the major departments of government were all Americans. One of the most important of these departments was the Department of Education. It was governed by Americans, and English was to be the language of instruction. In 1900, of the eight hundred teachers in Puerto Rico, one hundred were North Americans. From the beginning of the American rule, the enforcement of laws requiring the use of the use of the English language have been of little avail. Various governors have had differing views of the use of English. In 1917 Puerto Ricans were made American citizens, and in 1922 the rule of using English for all instruction above the fourth-grade level was tried. In 1948 the Popular Party passed a resolution that all subjects be taught in the vernacular, while English was to be a special subject.

For the lower classes there is little incentive to learn English. The upper and middle classes place great emphasis on the language and on Americanization. It is realized that success in business depends on these. Thus, at the managerial level Puerto Ricans speak English, but the ordinary worker does not. In 1960, 37.7 per cent of the population could make themselves understood in English, but only 28.0 per cent of the rural population could.²⁰

Perhaps the most important change imposed by American occupation is the economic one. It has affected all aspects of life. There has been a more complex division of labor and more manufacturing. A large

²⁰U.S. Department of Commerce. Bureau of Census. U.S. Census of Population: 1960. Vol. I, Characteristics of the Population. Part 53, Puerto Rico. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1913), p. 121.

group of civil servants has developed: teachers, health workers, clerks and agents of various department. Teachers have been a very strong influence. At the beginning of the occupation only 20.4 per cent of the people could read and write,²¹ but in 1960 the ratio was almost reversed; 23.1 per cent were illiterate.²²

There has also been a trend toward urbanization. In 1899 San Juan had a population of 32,048,²³ but in 1970 the population was 444,952.²⁴ Puerto Rico has six cities of 50,000 or more in population.²⁵ Further, New York has had constant interchange of incoming and departing Puerto Ricans. On the other hand, Americans in Puerto Rico have held themselves aloof from the general population. Many do not even speak Spanish.²⁶

In 1951 Puerto Rico became a commonwealth. She has non-voting representation in the Congress of the United States. Her people pay no income tax to the federal government. The three main views of the political future of Puerto Rico are: 1) that she should be a sovereign state, 2) that she should become the fifty-first state of the United States and 3) that she should remain as a commonwealth. Regardless of

²¹U.S. Department of Commerce. Bureau of Census: Thirteenth Census of the U.S.: 1910. Vol. III (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1913), p. 1205.

²²Census: 1960. Part 53, Puerto Rico. p. 120.

²³Census: 1910. Vol. III, p. 1189.

²⁴U.S. Department of Commerce. Bureau of Census. 1970 Census of Population: Preliminary Reports, Puerto Rico. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1970). p. 3.

²⁵Ibid. pp. 3-4.

²⁶Stewart, et. al., Op. cit., p.425.

her future, the past seventy-three years of American governance have probably left an indelible influence on Puerto Rican culture.

Thus we may see that, although the foundation of culture and language in Puerto Rico are Spanish, one cannot discount the other influences on her. These could be re-listed at length, but the three main sources of cultural heritage are the Indian civilizations, those of the Africans, and the most recent influence -- that of the United States.

SOURCES OF THE PUERTO RICAN LEXICON

Quite naturally the lexicon of the Puerto Rican dialect is chiefly dependent upon Spanish for its major fund of items. There are, however, other sources of lexicon. Malaret¹ divides the sources into: a) Afronegroidism, b) foreign words, c) Indianisms, d) indigenous terms. The last two seem to be redundant, but in c) he refers to certain articles of use e.g. bohío, hut, piragua, pirogue, etc. In d) he refers only to indigenous plants and animals. To these four, Manuel Álvarez Nazario would add archaisms still extant in Puerto Rico.² Rubén del Rosario objects to the use of the term archaism: "Palabra impropia la de arcaísmo, porque una palabra que se emplee en la conversación culta de México, Perú o Puerto Rico no puede ser sino una palabra viva."³ or "Archaism is an inappropriate word because a word used in the cultivated conversation of Mexico, Peru or Puerto Rico cannot be anything but a living word." He also adds as a source of lexicon words of Creole origin, by this he means words created within the framework of Spanish:

Mucho más importante es la formación criolla de palabras en suelo puertorriqueño. Me refiero a la creación de nuevas voces dentro de los moldes tradicionales del idioma español, para satisfacer nuestras necesidades expresivas.⁴

¹Augusto Malaret, Vocabulario de Puerto Rico, rev. (New York: Las Americas Publishing Co., 1967), pp. 20-21.

²Manuel Álvarez Nazario, El arcaísmo vulgar en el español de Puerto Rico (Mayagüez, P.R.: Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña, 1957), p. 380.

³Rubén del Rosario, La lengua de Puerto Rico: Ensayos, 6th ed. rev. (Rio Piedras, P.R.: Editorial Cultural, Inc., 1969), p. 12.

⁴Ibid., p. 13.

Much more important than Indian and African words is the Creole formation of words on Puerto Rican Soil. I refer to the creation of new words within the traditional molds of the Spanish language, in order to satisfy our expressive needs

Indigenous Terms and Indianisms

The indigenous fund of lexicon must have been very extensive indeed for all of the Americas, but for Puerto Rico the chief language was Arawakan. As Vicente reports:

Los españoles encontraron a su llegada un territorio desconocido, poblado por gentes que hablaban una infinidad de lenguas también extrañas, y vivía en un medio también asombroso, una naturaleza deslumbrante. En un principio, plantas, animales, accidentes del terreno, útiles de la cultura popular, fueron designados con las voces españolas que nombraban, en España, lo que resultaba más parecido a los ojos de los españoles. Mas, con el tiempo, a medida que la familiaridad con las lenguas indígenas fue creciendo, las palabras o giros españoles se fueron sustituyendo por las voces nativas.

Esas lenguas eran prácticamente innumerables (mas de 123 familias de idiomas) pero las que han dejado huellas en el español allí transplantado son: el arahuaco, hoy muerto, que se hablaba en las Antillas; . . . ⁵

That is:

When the Spanish arrived they encountered an unknown territory populated by peoples who spoke an infinity of languages that were equally strange and they lived in an environment that was also astonishing, a dazzling natural setting. In the beginning plants, animals, geographical features, tools of the native culture were designated by the Spanish words designating the things that were most similar in Spanish culture. In time with greater familiarity with the native languages the Spanish words were replaced by the indigenous words.

These languages were practically innumerable (more than one hundred and twenty-three families of languages) but those which have left transplanted traces in Spanish are: Arawak, now dead, which used to be spoken in the Antilles; . . .

Luis Hernandez Aquino agrees on the basic foundation of Arawak but

⁵Alonso Zamora Vicente, Dialectología española (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, S.A. 1967), pp. 387-88.

says of indigenous words:

El término indígena, que da título a este Diccionario, no debe tomarse sensu strictu en su acepción de originario y natural de la Isla; pero sí debe tomarse en cuenta, a favor de tal significación, la mezcla etnológica y lingüística de los moradores de la Isla hasta la fecha del descubrimiento y aun en época posterior, que dió base a las aportaciones lingüísticas que hicieron otras gentes al idioma taíno insular. En ese respecto, el testimonio histórico asegura el hecho de las corrientes precolombinas de intercambio entre los habitantes de Boriquén y los de la Florida en el norte, los de Yucatán en el centro y los del sur americano, a través de diversas vías marítimas. Aruacos, taínos, eyeris y caribes hicieron aportes a la lengua hablada en Boriquen en tiempos precolombinos. A estos aportes habría que añadir los préstamos lingüísticos posteriores de los indios traídos a Puerto Rico muchos de ellos como esclavos, de Méjico, Cuba, Jamaica, Haití, las Islas Lucayas y las caribeñas Antillas Menores.⁶

That is:

The term indigenous, which gives a title to this dictionary should not be taken sensu strictu in its acceptance of aboriginal and natural of the island; but there should be taken into account, in this designation, the ethnological and linguistic mixture of the residents of the island up to the date of the discovery and even in the later epoch, which gave a base to the linguistic contributions which other peoples made to the insular Taino language. In this respect, the historical testimony assures the fact of the precolumbia currents of interchange among the inhabitants of Puerto Rico and those of Florida to the north, those of Yucatan in Central America and those in South America. Arawaks, Tainos, Eyeris and Caribs made contributions to the language spoken in Puerto Rico in precolumbian times. To these contributions it would be necessary to add the later linguistic borrowings from Indians brought to Puerto Rico, many of them as slaves, from Mexico, Cuba, Jamaica, Haiti, the Bahamas Islands and the Caribbean Lesser Antilles.

And again on pages nine and ten he⁷ states that many topographic names, names of plants and animals and words in daily use are taken from Arawak, Caribe, Cumantagota from Venezuela, Quecha and Quarm. Other words are

⁶Luis Hernandez Aquino, Diccionario de voces indígenas de Puerto Rico (Bilbao, Spain: Editorial Vasco Americana, S.A., 1969), pp. 7-8.

⁷ibid., pp. 9-10.

from Nahuatl: achote, aguacate, cacao and chayote. He also mentions that many words seem to be Indian because of their form but are of unknown origin. He mentions that some family names in Puerto Rico are Indian as well.⁸

Hernandez lists the possibilities also of Hispanization of various Indian words. By this he means the addition of Spanish endings: diminutives, augmentatives, adjectival endings.⁹

Vicente says the Indian influence is greatest in lexicon:¹⁰

Donde la huella indígena es más notoria y valiosa es en el terreno del léxico. La más antigua fuente es el arahuaco, lengua hablada en las Antillas, las primeras tierras con las que el conquistador tomo contacto. De este origen es la primera voz indígena aceptada y luego difundida por todas las lenguas modernas: canoa. Ya la registra el Diccionario de Nebrija (1493). Una forma mas perfeccionada de esta embarcación es la piragua, voz también difundida en otras lenguas. Cacique 'jefe de tribu' ya fue empleada por Colón, y despues, entre otros, por el Padre Bartolome de Las Casas.

Arahuacas son también:

tabaco. Voz que designaba no a la planta, sino al instrumento en que se fumaba, según explica el P. Las Casas.

La batata fue citada por vez primera por Pedro Martir de Anghiera en 1516. Navagiero las cita en una carta a Ramusio en 1526: "He visto muchas cosas de las Indias, y entre ellas las raíces que llaman batatas, las he comido y saben como las castañas." Oviedo dice: "Una batata curada no es inferior en el gusto a gentiles mazapanes." Hoy en América, batata equivale a 'papa dulce' (camote en algunos lugares, palabra azteca), mientras patata es en todas partes papa, palabra quecha [sic].

Otras palabras antillanas son: bohío, caníbal, sabana 'llanura' (palabra de Haití, según Oviedo); naguas o enaguas 'prenda femenina'; guacamayo, tiburón, yuca. Huracán ha pasado a otras lenguas con igual valor; fue considerado de las islas por Oviedo, pero investigaciones recientes han descubierto que es un préstamo del quiché de Yucatán al taíno antillano; hamaca, también difundida, fue usada por Oviedo; "bien es que de diga

⁸Op. cit., p. 13.

⁹Op. cit., p. 15.

¹⁰Op. cit., pp. 391-393.

que camas tienen en esta Isla Española, a la cual cama llaman hamaca". . . . Algunas voces de este origen se transmitieron a otras regiones americanas, como maíz (ya aparece en Pedro Martir y en la Summa de geografía de Fernandez de Enciso, 1519) o la citada cacique; lo mismo ocurre con baquiano 'guia, hombre conocedor', hoy frecuentísima en el Plata (baqueano es ultra-corrección); . . . Otras voces de este origen son: batea, bejuco, caoba, guayaba, iguana, maní. . . . Taíno es también areito, nombre de la danza y canto populares de los antiguos habitantes de las Antillas, extendido con la conquista a varios otros lugares y ya empleado por Lope de Vega. Son numerosas las voces que designan frutas o plantas: ají, tuna, maguey, caimito, copey, etcetera, etc. . . .

10 Una excelente visión de conjunto sobre todo lo relativo al elemento indígena en el español americano puede encontrarse en Max L. Wagner, Ob. cit., capítulo II, L'elemento indiano, pags. 51-77. Además de los tradicionales repertorios de léxico, añádase ahora Tomas Buesa Oliver, Indoamericanismos léxicos en español, Madrid, 1965.

That is:

The area in which native influences are the most obvious and plentiful is that of lexicon. . . . The oldest source is the Arawak language spoken in the Antilles, the first area with which the conquistadors had contact. From that source comes the first word of an indigenous language accepted into Spanish and then disseminated into other languages: canoa. It was already included in Nebrija's dictionary in 1493. A more finished form of this boat is the piragua, a word which has also spread to other languages. Cacique, a tribal chief, was used by Columbus, and later among others, by Father Bartolome de Las Casas.

Also Arawak are:

Tabaco. A word which designated not the plant but the instrument in which it was smoked according to Las Casas.

Batata was cited for the first time by Pedro Martir de Anghiera in 1516. Navagiero mentions them in a letter to Ramusio in 1526: "I have seen many things from the Indies and among them are the roots called batatas. I have eaten them and they taste like chestnuts." . . . Oviedo 1526 says: "A cured batata is not inferior in taste to marzipan." Today in America batata is equivalent to 'papa dulce' sweet potato (camote in some places, an Aztec word), while patata is papa [potato] everywhere, a Quechua word.

Other words from the Antilles are: bohío, canibal, sabana 'savannah' (a Haitian word, according to Oviedo); naguas or enguas 'a feminine garment'; guacamayo, tiburón, yuca. Huracán has passed into other languages with equal significance; it was considered by Oviedo to be an island word, but recent investigations have shown it to be a borrowing from the Quiche of the Yucatan; hamaca, also widespread, was used by Oviedo: "It is true

that they have beds in this island of Hispaniola, which they call hamacas" Some words of this origin were transmitted to other regions in the Americas, like maíz (it already appears in the Summa de geographía by Fernandez de Enciso in 1519), or the aforementioned cacique; the same occurs with baquiano ('guide knowledgeable man') very frequently in the Plate region (baqueano is ultracorrección; Other words from this source are: batea, bejuco, caoba, guayaba, iguana, maní. . . . of this same Caribbean origin is the word areíto, the name of a dance and song popular with the ancient inhabitants of the Antilles, extended by the conquest to other places and even used by Lope de Vega. Words which designate fruits and plants are very numerous: ají, tuna, maguey, caimito, copey, etc. . . .

¹⁰An excellent overview of everything relative to the indigenous element in American Spanish may be found in Max L. Wagner, Ob. cit., capítulo II, L'elemento indiano, pages. 51-77. Moreover to the traditional reporting of lexicon add Tomás Buesa Oliver, Indoamericanismos léxicos en español, Madrid, 1965.

Rosenblat would certainly agree in this:¹¹

Más afectan a la unidad las diferencias de léxico, a veces espectaculares. El léxico es realmente fraccionador. Cada región tiene su vocabulario indígena propio, que le imprime su nota característica, y el prestigio y condición expansiva de las capitales puede dar a las voces un ámbito nacional y hasta internacional. . . . La misma fruta se llama banana en la Argentina (quizá de origen africano, a través de Brasil), cambur en Venezuela, guineo en unas partes, plátano en otras (en cambio el plátano de Puerto Rico y Venezuela es subespecie que adquiere sus virtudes supremas cuando se ofrece asada, frita o soncochada).

That is:

More destructive to unity are the differences, at times spectacular, in lexicon. The lexicon is really divisive. Each region has its own indigenous vocabulary, which gives it its characteristic note, and the prestige and expansive condition of the capitals can give the words a national and even international province. . . . The same fruit is called banana [plátano in some countries] in Argentina (perhaps of African origin, by way of Brazil), cambur in Venezuela, guineo in some places [e.g. Puerto Rico] . . . (on the other hand the plátano of Puerto Rico and Venezuela is a subspecies that is at its best when it is served roasted, fried or parboiled).

Thus, we see that the use of words from various Indian languages have enriched the lexicon of Puerto Rico. The simple fact that there could be

¹¹Op. cit., p. 17

a book of three hundred and fifty-nine pages entitled Diccionario de voces indígenas de Puerto Rico is proof enough of this rich source.

Even the island itself is called Boriquén (a Taino word) by native Puerto Ricans. Some of these indigenous words are found in the corpus in the present study and are included in the glossary.

Spanish Foundations of the Language

Archaisms in the dialect of Puerto Rico are considered important enough and profuse enough for Álvarez Nazario to have written El arcaísmo vulgar en el español de Puerto Rico. In this book he states that such archaism was the basis of the Puerto Rican dialect.¹²

15. De esta manera, el nucleo primero de población española en Puerto Rico apor to una base lingüística que ya de por se tendía al arcaísmo. Vista la importancia numérica del hombre del pueblo, y siendo harto conocida y comprobada la tendencia de las clases populares a conservar aquellas formas de la lengua ya desechadas por el uso culto, no es de extrañar que el español de estos primeros vecinos de las Antillas se hallasen refugiados diversos rasgos de la lengua del Medievo ya descartados para esa época. Henríquez Ureña prueba esta posibilidad con la supervivencia hoy día en Santo Domingo de expresiones medievales que en el siglo XVI eran ya arcaicas, tales como el pronombre ge, los sustantivos conocencia, confisión, cris, los verbos catar, veder, crebar, los adverbios áina y atanto.⁵

⁵Henríquez Ureña, Op. Cit., p. 41.

That is:

15. In this way, the first nucleus of Spanish population in Puerto Rico contributed a linguistic base which in itself already tended toward archaism. In view of the numerical importance of the common man, and the tendency, fully known and proved, of the populace to conserve those forms already discarded by cultured usage, it is not strange that the Spanish of these first settlers of the Antillies found themselves conserving various traits of the medieval language already discarded in this epoch. Henríquez Ureña proves this possibility with the survival nowadays in Santo Domingo of medieval expressions which were already archaic in the sixteenth century,

¹²Op. cit., p. 30.

such as the pronoun ge, the substantives conocencia, confisión, cris, the verbs catar, veder, crebar, and the adverbs aina and atanto.

He explains that this archaism is more common in the Caribbean area because:¹³

16. Esta tendencia al arcaísmo medieval en el español que trajeron los conquistadores a las Antillas tal vez no se daría con tanta intensidad en la lengua llevada posteriormente a México, Perú, Chile, el Plata, tierras donde, habiéndose iniciado la colonización más tardíamente, se dió lugar a que llegara hasta nuestras islas. Esto, según Henriquez Ureña, confirma por repetición la teoría -- sustentada por Meyer-Lubke y otros estudiosos de la filología románica -- de que los dialectos latinos de cada una de las regiones de la Romania debían sus rasgos distintivos a la época en que Roma las conquistó. Así, el latín que fue a Dacia era muy distinto del que había ido a Cerdena y a Sicilia, territorios romanizados mucho antes, y "los colonizadores de España hablaban un latín mas antiguo que los de Galia, y así en otros casos."⁷

17. Aún en un ambito reducido como es el de Puerto Rico y en un espacio de tiempo más breve, se puede notar algo parecido a la ya apuntado con relación a la Romania y a Hispanoamérica. Navarro Tomás señala que en los municipios del occidente de la Isla, fundados en su mayoría antes que los de oriente, se conservan las formas mas antiguas del español insular.⁸

⁷P. Henriquez Ureña, op. cit., pag. 40; W. Meyer-Lubke, Introducción a la lingüística románica, Trad. y notas de Americo Castro, 1926, pags. 43-44.

⁸Vease T. Navarro Tomás, op. cit., pags. 167-168.

That is:

16. This tendency to medieval archaism in the Spanish which the conquistadores brought to the Antilles would perhaps not be present in the language brought later to Mexico, Peru, Chile the River Plate region, lands where, the colonization having been initiated at a later period, it replaced that which was brought to our islands. This, according to Henriquez Ureña confirms by repetition the theory, sustained by Meyer-Lubke and other scholars of romance philology, that the Latin dialects of each of the regions of the Roman Empire owe their distinctive traits to the epoch in which Rome conquered them. Thus, the Latin that went to Dacia [Rumania] was quite distinct from that which had gone to Sardinia

¹³Manuel Álvarez Nazario, Op. cit., p. 31.

and Sicily, territories romanized much earlier, and "the colonizers of Spain spoke a much older Latin than those who colonized Galia [France], and thus in other cases.

17. Even in an ambience as reduced as is that of Puerto Rico and in a space and time that is more brief, it is possible to note something similar to that already pointed out in relation to the Roman Empire and Spanish America. Navarro Tomás indicates that in the counties of the West of the island, founded for the most part prior to those of the East, the most antique forms of the insular Spanish are conserved.

One of the most frequently used words in the corpus is just such an archaism, chavo. Manuel Alvarez Nazario notes this word:¹⁴

62) chavo < (Ochavo, antigua moneda española de cobre usada en Puerto Rico y otras partes) m. Moneda de un centavo. Es denominación que se da en el uso vulgar y familiar. Las personas instruidas, sin embargo, aún cuando evitan en general decir chavo, aceptan el plural los chavos como equivalente de 'el dinero, la plata'.

That is:

62) chavo < (ochavo, old Spanish copper coin used in Puerto Rico and other places) masc. One cent piece. It is a denomination found in vulgar and familiar use. Educated people, nevertheless, even when they avoid in general saying chavo, accept the plural los chavos as an equivalent for 'el dinero, la plata' [money].

Many other archaisms are used in the corpus, e.g. ansina, an old form of así. These words are, for the most part not listed in the glossary, because they are listed in the nineteenth edition of Diccionario de la lengua española and are not restricted to Puerto Rican use. When the Royal Academy dictionary clearly indicates that such words are strictly of Puerto Rican or Antillian use, they are listed in the glossary.

Manuel Álvarez Nazario nicely sums up the use of archaisms in Puerto Rican Spanish in his El arcaísmo vulgar en el español de Puerto Rico by stating:

¹⁴Op. cit., p. 138.

151. En el vocabulario popular y familiar de Puerto Rico son numerosas las palabras que hoy resultan inaceptables para la lengua culta. En su mayoría vienen estas voces desde España, arrastradas por el pueblo desde que, en distintas épocas de su evolución histórica, el idioma las fue excluyendo del buen decir. Otras han envejecido solamente en la Isla, pero es posible que aún sigan circulando normalmente en otros países de la hispanidad. Otro grupo se ha incorporado al léxico del español puertorriqueño tras el contacto de los conquistadores y primitivos colonizadores peninsulares con la lengua taína de los indios boricuenses, y posteriormente por el trato con los esclavos africanos importados a partir del siglo XVI. Todos estos arcaísmos léxicos del habla menos culta de Puerto Rico aparecen expuestos en las listas que se encuentran a continuación. Junto a ellos quedan incluidos también ciertos vocablos ya borrados del todo de nuestra lengua viva, pero cuyo uso pretérito puede comprobarse en diversos escritos relativos a la vida del país en épocas pasadas. . . .¹⁵

That is:

151. In the familiar and popular vocabulary of Puerto Rico, words which are unacceptable in the cultured language are numerous. In the main these words come from Spain, brought from there by the people, in distinct historical epochs of their evolution, which the language was already excluding from good speech. Others have grown old only in the island, but it is possible that they still circulate in other Spanish-speaking countries. Another group has been incorporated into the lexicon of Puerto Rican Spanish with the contact of the first peninsular colonizers with the Taino language of the Indians of Boriquen [Puerto Rico], and later because of contact with African slaves imported at the end of the sixteenth century. All of these lexical archaisms of less cultured speech in Puerto Rico appear expressed in the lists below. With these are included, also, certain words erased from our living language, but whose use in the preterit can be verified in diverse writings relative to the life of the country in past eras.

Thus, Álvarez Nazario would include Indian words, Africanisms and words from medieval Spanish in his list of archaisms. This is a rather wide range of meaning for the term archaism. In the glossary only those words from medieval Spanish will be marked as archaisms.

¹⁵ Op. cit., p. 121.

Spanish Additions to the Language

We must count as Creolisms certain words that have been invented in the island. Rubén del Rosario states:

. . . Dejando a un lado los neologismos de caracter general en Hispanoamérica, cuyo número es considerable, ocupémonos ahora de aquellos que parecen mas exclusivamente puertorriqueños. Muchos han sido creados por metasemia: brete, chiripa, administrar, vellón; otros por sufijación: reguerete, cuquero; por prefijación: prematrícula, ajibararse; por composición: mundo-nuevo, pisicorre, o por libre invención: chischis, teque-a-te-que, ñeñeñe. Otros ejemplos tomados de la conversación: aguaje, ajorar, alcapurria, atrecho, caja, changuería, emborujo, empollón, enfogonarse, fajarse, fracatán, jaibería, maceta, majarete, mofongo, monga, pasteles, pon, risería, taco, etc. Bastan estos poco ejemplos para aprehender la riqueza extraordinaria del vocabulario de Puerto Rico. Casi todas estas voces han nacido en el pueblo, en el seno mismo de las clases humildes; muchas proceden del siglo pasado, otras son recientes. Todavía hoy siguen haciendose de continua: así el caso de brillo (limpiabotas), de caculear, de chuchín, de empaquetar. Las personas instruidas las acogen en el coloquio diario mezclandolas con el lexico tradicional español, pero las evitan por lo regular en la lengua escrita, en la escuela y en los usos mas formales.

A pesar de esa reserva, las palabras criollas están preñadas de significación, porque sirven para expresar individualmente el modo puertorriqueño de sentir, liberado por arte de la fantasía y con la máxima tensión espiritual. En ellas -- no importa su origen -- domina la emoción y el vuela irónico por sobre el arrinconado y a veces esfumado contenido lógico. Carecen de prestigio literario, pero funcionan como apoyos cotidianos de nuestras valoraciones, como traductores de nuestras actitudes. Además, este nuevo elemento lingüístico está dotado de una fecundidad que no tiene ya el elemento indio. De ahí su extremado valor caracterizador. (Claro es que lo que caracteriza no es el fenómeno general, que se da igualmente en todas las tierras, sino el hecho histórico, la preferencia que tienen hoy estas palabras específicas).¹⁶

That is:

. . . Putting aside the neologisms of a character general to Spanish America, whose number is considerable, let us concern ourselves only with those that seem to be more exclusively Puerto Rican. Many have been created by joking or punning:

¹⁶ Op. cit., pp. 13-14.

brete [love affair], chiripa [gratuity], administrar [cheat], vellon [dime], requerete [mess], cuquero [teaser]; by prefixation: prematricular [prematriculate], ajibararse [become like a Puerto Rican]; by joining: mundonuevo [new world], pisicorre; or by free invention: chischís [piece], teque-a-teque [whoever talks], ñeñe [act the fool]. Other examples taken from conversation: atrecho [short cut], caja [handsome man], chanquería [joke], emborujo [jumble], empollón [fool], enfogonarse [get drunk], fajarse [attack], fracatán [endless number], jaibaría [astuteness], maceta [club], majarete [dessert], mofongo [See glossary], monga [grippe], pasteles [meat balls], pon [pudding], risería [excessive laughter], taco [fop], etc. These examples will suffice for understanding the extraordinary richness of the vocabulary of Puerto Rico. Almost all of these words were born in the country, in this same womb of the lower classes; many came from the past century, others are recent. They are still in the process of being formed, such is the case with brillo (bootblack), caculear [flutter], chuchín [formidable], and empaquetar [affront]. Educated people welcome them in daily conversation mixed with traditional Spanish lexicon, but regularly avoid them in written language, in school and for more formal usage.

In spite of this reservation, the Creole words are pregnant with meaning, because they serve to express the Puerto Rican way of thinking, free from the art of fancy and with maximum spiritual strength. In them -- the origin is unimportant -- emotion and irony dominate reducing logic and sometimes making it disappear. They lack literary prestige, but act as daily support for our values, as translators of our attitudes. Moreover, this new linguistic element is endowed with a fecundity that the Indian element no longer has. Hence, its characteristic extreme value. (Clearly that which characterizes it is not a general phenomenon, that is found equally in all countries, but the historical fact is the preference that these specific words enjoy today.)

More complete explanation of just two of the words listed by del Rosario will suffice to illustrate what he means. The word ajibararse means to become acculturated to the life of the Jíbaro or to shrink, to shrivel, to lose social contact. (See Malaret, Vocabulario de Puerto Rico, p. 82.) The other word is jaibaría. This word means skill, cunning. (See Malaret, p. 195.) Its origin in the word jaiba is obvious. Literally the jaiba is a river crab, but René Marqués has told this writer the the Jíbaro often refers

to himself as a jaiba, having the cunning and bravery of that animal.

Afronegroidisms

It was noted above that Álvarez Nazario includes Afronegroidisms in his listing of archaisms, but he has also published a volume devoted to the Afronegroid element in the Spanish of Puerto Rico.¹⁷ This book is very scholarly, giving not only the historical facts of the importation of Negro slaves, but also the syntax, morphology, prosody, lexicon, and phonology of Sudanese and Bantu languages. He then traces their influence on the Spanish spoken by the original slaves and their Creole children and grandchildren.

Rubén del Rosario states that the African influence is much less than the Indian and continues:

La influencia del negro es mucho menor y no se corresponde con la aportación étnica. Tenemos algunas palabras usuales también en Santo Domingo o Cuba: ñame, guineo, mandinga, bembe. Se usan in Puerto Rico, además: cocolo, chango, guingambó, mazambique; y quizá son del mismo origen: guarapo, marimbo, mongo, fufú, etc. Aunque algunas son frecuentes, las palabras africanas no suelen tener aceptación culta, por un prejuicio heredado del siglo XIX. De todos modos, representan un aporte muy escaso, lo qual refleja la rápida acomodación del negro a los patrones culturales del europeo dominador.¹⁸

That is:

The influence of the Negro is much less and does not correspond to the ethnic contribution. We have some words, usual in Cuba or Santo Domingo also: ñame, guineo, mandinga, bembe. Also used in Puerto Rico, moreover, are: cocolo, chango, guingambó, mazambique, and perhaps of the same origin: guarapo, marimbo, mongo, fufú, etc. Although some are frequent, African words are not permitted acceptance into cultured language, because of a prejudice inherited from the nineteenth century. In any case, they represent a very limited contribution, which reflects the rapid accommodation of the Negro to the dominant European culture.

¹⁷ Manuel Alvarez Nazario, El elemento afronegroide en el español de Puerto Rico, (San Juan: Instituto de Cultura Puertorriquena, 1961).

¹⁸ Op. cit., p. 13.

Álvarez Nazario shows that the population of Puerto Rico in the 1950 census was 20.21 per cent Negro or of mixed blood.¹⁹ He also shows that the population of Carolina was forty to fifty per cent Negro in 1950. This is not an inconsiderable number. Nor is the number of African words incorporated into the language inconsiderable, according to Álvarez Nazario:²⁰

252. En el vocabulario de los bozales el fondo hispanico se entremezcla con palabras de origen africano. Muchas de estas voces, difundidas con el tiempo fuera de los medios lingüísticos del hombre de color, han logrado perdurar en el país hasta el día de hoy, más o menos alteradas las mas en sus líneas fonéticas originales, otras igualmente objeto de cambios en sus contenidos semanticos, verbigracia, relativas a: a) lugares: jurutungo, quimbambas o quimbámbaras; b) la flora: diversas clases de guineos o plátanos: forrongo, congo, chamaluco, chumbo, güimbo, fotoco, mafafo, malango; otras plantas: gandul o guandul, gunda, ñame, malanga, quimbombo, guingombo, guingambo, etc., malagueta, marimbo, anamú, belembe; c) la fauna: adjetivos aplicados a animales: chalungo, macuenco, malungo, matungo; aves: guinea, chango, o mozambique; miriápodos e insectos: gongolí, gongolón o gungulén, changa; ch) el individuo: 1) su cuerpo: bembe; 2) estados, acciones y cualidades: cocorioco, cocoroco, cogioca, changa ("ser a changa"), chango, chéche, chevere, ñangotarse, ñeñeñe, sucusumuco; 3) defectos físicos: ñango, ñoco; 4) enfermedades: dengue, monga; 5) gentilicios: angolo, cangá, carabalí, cocolo, congo, mandinga, mozambique; d) vida material: comidas: calalú, funche, marifinga, mofongo, bombotó; bebidas: guarapo, mamplé; otras voces relativas a comidas y bebidas: abombarse, sambumbia; objetos de uso personal: cachimbo o cachimba, candungo; aspectos del trabajo: chimba, malambo, tembé; e) vida espiritual: 1) costumbres y supersticiones: baquiné o baquiní, fufú, macandá, yacó; 2) música y baile: I, instrumentos musicales: bomba, bongó, cua, marimba, marimbo; II, bailes (de bomba): candungué, cucalambe, curiquinque, guateque, mariandá, mariangola, bambulé, calinde, cun-ya, grasimá, leró; (de salon): conga, chachachá, mambo, merengue; f) vida en sociedad: 1) tratamientos: taita; 2) conducta en grupo: bachata, titingó, yubá; g) voces varias: burundanga, farufa, fuacata, jelengue.

That is:

¹⁹Afronegroidismo, p. 100.

²⁰Ibid., pp. 379-380.

In the vocabulary of the untrained imported Negro the Spanish foundation was intermixed with words of African origin. Many of these words, extended with time outside the linguistic resources of the colored man, have succeeded in lasting in the country until today, most of them more or less altered in their original phonetic outlines, others equally the object of change in their semantic content, for example, relative to: a) places: jurutungo see glossary, quimbambas or quimbámbaras; b) flora: diverse types of guineos bananas or plantains: forrongo, an-go, chamaluco, chumbo, güimbo, fotoco, mafafo [see glossary], malango; other plants: gandul or guandul [see grandures in glossary], gunda, ñame, malanga, quimbombó, quingombó, guin-gambó, etc., malaqueta, marimbo, anamú, belembe; c) fauna: adjectives applied to animals: chalungo, macuenco, malungo, matungo; birds: guinea, chango or mozambique; myriapods and insects: gongolf, gongolón or gungulén, changa; ch) the individual: 1) bembe; 2) states, actions, and qualities: cocorico, cocoroco, cogioca, changa ("ser a changa"), chango, cheche, chevere, ñangotarse [see glossary], ñeñeñe [see Creolisms above], sucusumo; 3) physical defects: ñango, ñoco; 4) illnesses: dengue, monga; 5) terms of ethnic provenience: angolo, cangá, carabalí, cocolo, congo, mandinga, mozambique; d) material life: food: calalú, funche, marifinga, mofongo, bombotó; drink: guarapo, mamplé; other words relative to food and drink: abombarse, sambumbia; objects of personal use: cachimbo or cachimba, candungo; aspects of work: chimba, malambo, tembé; e) spiritual life: baquine or baquini, fufú, macanda, yaco; 2) music and dance: I, musical instruments: bomba, bongó, cua, marimba, marimbo; II, dances (bomba types): candungué, cucalambé, curiquingue, guateque, mariandá, mariangola, bambulé, calinda, cunyá, grasí-má, leró; (ballroom): conga, chachachá, mambo, merengue; f) social life: 1) forms of address: taita; 2) conduct in groups: bachata, tingingó, yuba; g) miscellany: burundanga, farufa, fuácata, jelengue.

The reader will note that some of the terms have been accepted into English, with or without change: guinea (fowl), quingambo (okra) > gumbo, dengue, bongo, marimba, calinde > calinda, conga, chachachá, merengue.

The exact origin of many of these words is obscure because of the great number of languages spoken by the slaves. As Álvarez Nazario states:²¹

²¹Afronegroidismo, p. 375.

248. Los africanos que se enfrentan en el Nuevo Mundo con la realidad del español y de los demás idiomas europeos transplantados a las colonias procedían de un complejo fondo lingüístico en el que se dan hablas distintas, en número cercano al de 600 (para referirnos tan solo a las lenguas y dialectos de las regiones de posible origen de los esclavos), pertenecientes en conjunto a las dos grandes familias sudanesa y bantu, cada una de ellas surgida por diversa vertiente de un tronco común proto-negro.

That is:

248. The Africans who were confronted in the New World with the reality of Spanish and the other European languages transplanted in the colonies came from a complex linguistic background in which there were distinct languages, about six hundred in number (referring only to the languages and dialects of possible regions of origin of the slaves), together belonging to the two great families of Sudanese and Bantu languages, each one rising from a branch of the common proto-Negro trunk.

Thus, as in North America, the language of the masters was necessary for communication among the slaves, as well as between master and slave. Some of those African words listed above and in the glossary were so fitting to the society that they became part of the Puerto Rican lexicon, e.g. ñangotarse, which means to be on one's knees, but has come to mean to behave in a servile manner. Since this would apply to attitudes necessary to the slave, African or Indian, it became part of the lexicon of the Jíbaro, who uses the term in a perjorative way. Obviously the names of musical instruments made by the Africans and used by them in Puerto Rico and then by Puerto Ricans in general had to be adopted. A bongo is a very different kind of drum than a Spanish tambor.

The Africans also brought with them words from the Portuguese sailors and slave traders. For example, Álvarez Nazario²² mentions

²² Afronegroidismo., p. 380.

Portuguese origins for words such as pae (pai), mae (mai), compae (compai), etc. It is interesting to note in this connection that the rr or initial r of Puerto Rico is quite similar to the Carioca dialect [x] and is unique in Spanish dialects, as will be explained in the chapter on phonology. Perhaps Portuguese Angola has had a greater influence on the Spanish of Puerto Rico than has been even hinted at in the literature.

Besides the terms taken from African dialects and languages the presence of the Negro in Puerto Rico for more than four hundred years has had the effect of creating some Creolisms in the language. Words, phrases, and idioms in Spanish were created because of this presence. Álvarez Nazario²³ mentions such terms relating to place of birth as: negros ladinos, negros bozales, negros de nación, criollos, words used by the slave traders: madera de ébano, fardo, pieza de Indias, or simply pieza, muleque, mulecones, mulequillas; words pertaining to work or punishment, e.g. carimbo, carimbar, equipación, negro doméstico or negro de casa, de tala or de conuco, jornalero, cimmarón, recogedor, boca abajo; words used for different aspects of the slaves' lives, e.g. mi amo, su merced, coartar, coartación, manumisión, libertos.

There are also words, as Álvarez Nazario notes,²⁴ that deal with race or the mixture of races: negro, prieto; the euphemisms: moreno, trigueno, gente de color; perjorative words: negro retinto, negro congo, negro cocolo, negra de pañuelo. The words that designate the

²³Afronegroidismo, p. 382.

²⁴Loc. cit.

various mixtures of blood include: loro, pardo, mulato, cuarteron, grifo, zambo, laba(d)o, lava(d)o.

Thus, we can attribute to the influence of the Negro: Africanisms, Portugeseisms, and Creolisms.

Foreign Borrowings

In discussing foreign borrowings we must exclude the abundant Arabic words of Spanish. These words were already part of the language at the time of the conquest. We have already mentioned some Portuguese expressions taken into Puerto Rican Spanish during the period of slave trade. Although many settlers came from the Basque speaking area of Spain in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, no mention of borrowings is made in the literature. The same is true of the immigrants from Corsica who arrived in the nineteenth century. And the great influx of Venezuelans in that century seems to have had no appreciable effect, probably because the influences upon their Spanish would be quite similar to the Puerto Rican experience. This, then, leaves us with the only major influence upon Puerto Rican Spanish other than those already mentioned -- English.

Although considerable contact with the English language must have existed prior to 1898, it is that date that marks the beginning of the major influence of English on Puerto Rican Spanish. From that date to 1952, when it became a commonwealth, the governors of Puerto Rico were Americans. In addition, as Tomás Navarro Tomás states:²⁵

INFLUENCIA DEL INGLÉS. -- Después de la antigua herencia recogida de la población indígena, el español de Puerto Rico no ha recibido de ninguna otra lengua influencia tan intensa

²⁵ El español en Puerto Rico, p. 220.

como la que el inglés le viene comunicando desde que la isla pasó a figurar bajo la jurisdicción de los Estados Unidos. Hace medio siglo que las autoridades educativas de Puerto Rico estan tratando de familiarizar a sus compatriotas con el conocimiento de la lengua inglesa. Numerosos jóvenes puertorriqueños realizan o amplían sus estudios en las Universidades norteamericanas. Millares de familias venidas de la isla residen en Nueva York y en otras ciudades del continente, sin perder el contacto con su tierra natal. Por otra parte, muchas personas de los Estados Unidos viven ordinariamente en Puerto Rico o pasan allí parte de su tiempo.

That is:

THE INFLUENCE OF ENGLISH -- After the ancient inheritance taken from the indigenous population, the Spanish of Puerto Rico has received no other language influence as intense as that communicated by English after the island came under the jurisdiction of the United States. For half a century the authorities in education have tried to familiarize their compatriots with a knowledge of the English language. Many young Puerto Ricans complete or augment their education in North American Universities. Thousands of families from Puerto Rico reside in New York and other cities on the continent without losing contact with their native land. On the other hand, many people from the United States ordinarily live in Puerto Rico or spend part of their time there.

Navarro Tomás²⁶ states that English has made no progress among the rural population, but has had some effect in the centers of population. He notes among the borrowed words:²⁷ appointment, attorney, junior, magazine, slogang [sic], and stop as being unchanged. Those that have been made to accomodate to Spanish morphology include: blofero, escrachar, jungla, lonchar and seibo (sideboard). Some, he says masquerade as being Spanish: aplicación, aprobación, emergencia, endosar (endorse), planta (factory), preservar.

Ruben del Rosario²⁸ lists such English words as baby, bar,

²⁶Op. cit., p. 220.

²⁷Ibid., p. 221.

²⁸Op. cit., p. 17.

baseball (béisbol), fútbol, biftec, bluff, boicot, boxeo, club, cheque, líder, lunch, rifle, ron, sandwich, show, sport, standard and ticket. He also lists²⁹ words that have been well enough accepted to be included in Spanish dictionaries: basketball, block, bridge (card game), cocktail, cold-cream, champú, dólar, high-life, jockey, manager, nilón, record, repórter, rosbif, tenis, turista, whisky, yate, jeep, sweater and others. None of these, he says, have corrupted or impoverished the language. He then lists³⁰ words which are not in dictionaries but are perfectly acceptable in common conversation: baking (meaning baking powder), brown (the color), ciodf (C.O.D.), freezer, fudge, high (school), marshal, panty, postmaster, rush, size and teacher.

He would deny, however, that some words come from English, but that they come through English. He denies all words but those of Anglo-Saxon origin, certainly a narrow view of the English language. For example, he feels that clerk comes from the French, but has come through English, as have control and couch. He finds that emergencia, junior, senior and item are Spanish because they come from Latin, even though they may be pronounced as they are in English. The words jungla, pijama, ponche, kaki and parchís are international, he says, and come from Hindi. This is true, but he certainly could not deny that it was not Spain that held India. He also objects to tráfico as being an Anglicism, because it existed in Puerto Rico before it came under American jurisdiction.

²⁹ Op. cit., p. 17.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 18.

Granda Gutiérrez³¹ considers lexical borrowing the least "dangerous" of the types of linguistic interference, as does Navarro Tomás.³²

In any case, Rubén del Rosario³³ writes that the words borrowed are used in most Spanish speaking countries and are also used in French, Italian and other European languages, thereby trying to soothe the feelings of the purists.

It may be seen, then, that the major sources of Puerto Rican lexicon are: 1) Indian languages, 2) Spanish, at various stages, 3) African languages, and 4) English.

³¹German de Granda Gutiérrez, Transculturación e Interferencia Lingüística en el Puerto Rico Contemporáneo (1898-1969), (Bogotá: Publicaciones del Instituto Caro y Cuervo, XXIV, 1968).

³²Op. cit., p. 163.

³³Op. cit., p. 222.

DEVIATIONS FROM AMERICAN SPANISH IN MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

Morphology

In his La lengua de Puerto Rico, Rubén del Rosario says¹

Acerca de la morfología y sintaxis es poco lo que tenemos que anotar, porque las diferencias son de detalle y la mayoría están desprovistas de validez social. En acuerdo con el resto de América, los pronombres vosotros y vuestro y las formas verbales afines han sido sustituidos por ustedes, suyo y el verbo en tercera persona. El voseo se desconoce: se emplea siempre tú y nunca el vos frecuente en Centro y Suramérica. Se advierten variantes formales que van siendo corregidas por la escuela: haiga, fuistes, vayemos, la reuma, etc., vulgarismos que aparecen por igual en los otros países. Algunos son resistentes: demen, querramos, váyensen, habían muchas personas. Ante esas variantes la posición de las personas instruidas es uniforme: no se toleran.

That is:

Concerning the morphology and syntax there is little that we must note, because the differences are details and the majority are devoid of social validity. In accord with the remainder of America, the pronouns vosotros and vuestro [second person plural familiar] and the related verb forms have been substituted for by ustedes, suyo [second person plural polite] and the verb in the third person. The use of vos is unknown: tú is always used and never the frequent vos [archaism] of Central and South America. Formal variants that are overcorrections from schooling are avoided: haiga [haga], fuistes [fuiste], vayemos [váyamos], la reuma [el reuma, but both are correct], etc., vulgarisms which appear equally in other countries. Some are resistant: demen [deme~denme], querramos [queremos~queramos], váyensen [váyanse], habían muchas personas [había muchas personas]. Toward these variants the position of educated people is uniform: they are not tolerated.

¹Rubén del Rosario. La lengua de Puerto Rico: Ensayos, 6th Ed. (Rio Piedras, P.R.: Editorial Cultural, Inc., 1969).

This paragraph rather quickly summarizes a complex of morphological phenomena. In addition to the second person familiar forms he indicates: 1) phonetic changes, 2) the addition of /-s/ to the second person singular preterit, 3) change of gender, 4) misplaced third person plural ending /-n/, in one case added to the enclitic and in the other where it is inappropriate.

Álvarez Nazario,² on the other hand states that:

87. La morfología del español de Puerto Rico presenta muchas características, particularmente en la flexión verbal, que se evitan hoy en la conversación de las personas cultas por considerarse incompatibles con las normas modernas de corrección lingüística. El origen de gran parte de estas formas divergentes se remonta hasta el habla popular del siglo XVI; en otros casos se trata de fenómenos surgidos modernamente por efecto de la acción analógica, fenómenos que repiten usos dejados atrás por la lengua desde hace siglos.

That is:

87. The morphology of the Spanish of Puerto Rico presents many characteristics, particularly in the verb changes for tense, which are avoided nowadays in the conversation of cultured people because they are considered incompatible with the norms of modern linguistic correctness. The origin of a great part of these divergent forms may be traced back to the popular speech of the sixteenth century; in other cases we are dealing with forms that have arisen recently by analogy, forms which repeat usage abandoned by the language for centuries.

Let us begin, then, with the verb and try to point out deviations or differences between the Spanish of the Jíbaro and usual American Spanish. It would seem appropriate to call to attention some difficulties involved in this: 1) When a language has an enclitic pronoun, it is difficult to state whether deviations in

²Manuel Álvarez Nazario, El arcaísmo vulgar en el español de Puerto Rico (Mayagüez, P.R.: Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña, 1957).

its use are morphemic or syntactic. 2) In some cases in Spanish, what appears to be a phonetic change is actually a morphemic change.

3) When an agglutinative process occurs, it is not entirely clear where the output belongs, i.e., is it lexicon, morphology, syntax, or phonology. For example, the verb forms mentioned by del Rosario, above: 1) haiga is normally haga. This is a phonetic change. 2) fuistes is normally fuiste, which appears to be a phonetic change, except that /-s/ is a second person singular ending in all tenses of ir and ser, except the preterit indicative. The second person singular preterit indicative of both verbs is fuiste. By analogy with the other tenses, the Puerto Rican adds /-s/ to the form which is already second person singular. 3) habían is an attempt to make plural the third person imperfect indicative form of a defective verb; había (there used to be) is both singular and plural. Thus, the /-n/ of the third person plural is affixed, even though it is inappropriate. It is used by analogy with other verbs. The form demen is properly denme: the plural polite imperative den (give) and the first person singular dative enclitic pronoun me. The singular form would be deme. Thus we have the problem -- is demen a type of metathesis or is the /-n/ suffix misplaced. The second explanation seems more reasonable since the form váyensen has the /-n/ after the verb and the enclitic as well. Kany in his American-Spanish Syntax³ notes the same phenomenon in the island, "PUERTO RICO: Siéntensen ustedes, siéntesen ustedes, demen,

³Charles E. Kany, American-Spanish Syntax, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951). p. 114.

digamen, delen." Tomás Navarro Tomás also mentions this feature, but includes it under syntax.⁴

Another occurrence in the verb, which may be the one Álvarez Nazario refers to in the passage above, is noted by Navarro Tomás.⁵ He reports the forms: comprates and vites, which should be compraste and viste. But in a footnote on the same page he states that the final /-s/ is so tenuously aspirated that only comprate, vite, dijite are heard. Might it not be possible that this is the same occurrence as reported by Rubén del Rosario above: the addition of final /-s/ to the second person singular preterit indicative -- /kompr-/ + /-aste/ + /-s/. Although he states that no one used these forms, "usadas en extensas zonas del español americano y peninsular y conocida también en Puerto Rico entre personas semi-cultas."⁶ (used in extensive zones of American and peninsular Spanish and known also among semi-cultured people in Puerto Rico); it would seem possible that both s's are lost, [kom'prastes > kom'prate]; ['pistes > 'píte]; [di'xistes > di'xíte].

Rosenblat⁷ says that the first /-s-/ is left without function, thus positing the form as /kompra-/ + /-s-/ + /-te-/ ± /-s/; the first element being the stem, /kompra-/; plus /-s-/, the second person singular suffix (infix); plus /-te-/ a second person singular

⁴Tomás Navarro Tomás, El español en Puerto Rico (2nd ed. Río Piedras, P.R.: Editorial Universitaria, University of Puerto Rico, 1966), p. 129.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ángel Rosenblat, "Notas de morfología dialectal," Biblioteca de Dialectología Hispanoamericana, Vol. II (Buenos Aires, 1936). p. 228.

enclitic pronoun; and /-s/ a second person singular verb ending.

In any case Navarro Tomás found only comprate, whatever its origin.

Tomás Navarro Tomás⁸ gives a number of phenomena that can be reduced to a single phenomenon. There were many locutions of verbs in which an irregular verb was made to follow the pattern of regular verbs. For example, the regular /-ió/ ending of the preterit indicative for the third person singular of an /-ir/ or /-er/ ending verb was used with caber, making cabíó instead of cupo and likewise with reducir -- redució for redujo. The same occurred with the third person plural preterit indicative of traer: trayeron or trajieron in place of trajeron. A similar formation of the future was found -- salirá and valerá were heard in place of saldrá and valdrá, thus making them fit the pattern of regular verbs. Zamora Vicente⁹ reports that the future tense is frequently replaced by ir + a + infinitive. For example, el va a salir in place of el saldrá. Marqués uses this construction. (See Chaguito, page 42, cited edition.)

A final note on the morphemes attached to verb stems is remarked upon by Tomás Navarro Tomás¹⁰ and Rosenblat.¹¹ When the stress is on the third from the last syllable in the first person plural of the imperfect indicative or the present subjunctive,

⁸Op. cit., pp. 126-127.

⁹Alonso Zamora Vicente, Dialectología española, Biblioteca Románica Hispánica, Vol. III (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1967).

¹⁰Op. cit., p. 127.

¹¹Op. cit., p. 221.

the /-mos/ ending sometimes changes to /-nos/. No explanation is offered for this, but it might be an identification with the enclitic first person plural pronoun in forms like vámonos.

Navarro Tomás¹² also mentions under morphology the loss of es at the beginning of forms of estar: toy (estoy), tas (estas), taba (estaba), tamo (estamos) and the loss of ha in forms of haber like bemos (habemos) and bían (habían). These losses should not be considered as morphemic phenomena. Although there are forms spelled es and ha, they are complete morphemes in themselves and not separable morphemes or bound morphemes in the case of the forms listed above. The stem form of the verb estar in the present indicative is /est-/; the form es is the third person singular of the verb ser in the present indicative. The form ha is the third person singular present indicative form of the verb haber, but it is only one of six replacives and is not a stem. In the case of bemos (habemos), the stem (though incorrect) would have to be considered /hab-/ as it is in the case of bían (habían). Therefore the loss can only be considered to be phonetic and not morphemic.

Deviations in the noun include changes in gender and in various endings -- plurals, diminutives, augmentatives, and those showing various states and conditions. Deviations in gender fall into two classes: 1) those that show gender by the use of the masculine ending /-o/ or the feminine ending /-a/, and those that show gender by use of the masculine determiner el or the feminine la. There are exceptions such as la mano and el artista.) In most cases where there was a deviation

¹²Op. cit., p. 128.

found by Navarro Tomás, he found both forms: el mar, la mar; el color, la color; el puente, la puente; naso, nasa, flamboyan, flamboyana.¹³ (In the case of mar, both are acceptable.) He also found deviant forms in plurals: mangoses for mangos, bambusas for bambuas.¹⁴ Álvarez Nazario found a sort of regularity in these forms:¹⁵

88. Plurales en -ses. Los sustantivos agudos tienden a formar el plural en -ses en el habla vulgar de casi toda la hispanidad. Así es muy corriente en Puerto Rico decir ajises 'ajíes', y no son desconocidos entre la gente del pueblo los plurales pieses 'piés', cafeses 'cafés', etc. Esta pluralización irregular tiene antecedentes literarios en el Siglo de Oro...

That is:

88. Plurals with -ses. Substantives ending in an accented vowel tend to form the plural with -ses in the vulgar speech of almost all Spanish-speaking areas. Thus it is very common in Puerto Rico to say ajises for 'ajíes', and plurals such as pieses for 'piés' and cafeses for 'cafés' are not unknown among the common people. This irregular pluralization has its antecedents in the literature of the Golden Age.

He also found one plural used regularly where the singular should be used:¹⁶

89. El plural narices para referirse al órgano nasal suele ser evitado en la conversación culta aun cuando se mantiene en esta en refranes y dichos. El pueblo, sin embargo, prefiere usar generalmente la forma plural . . . Hoy se da también este uso en la lengua colquial de la península y posiblemente en la del resto de Hispanoamérica.

¹³ Op. cit., pp. 115-116.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 116.

¹⁵ Op. cit., p. 81.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 82.

That is:

89. The plural narices to refer to the nasal organ (correctly la nariz -- narices refers to the nostrils.) is avoided in cultured conversation even though it is maintained in certain sayings and proverbs. The people, nevertheless, generally prefer to use the plural . . . To-day this usage is also found in the colloquial speech of the peninsula and possibly in the rest of Spanish America.

Spanish has a number of noun endings that significantly alter the meaning of the root word. Some of these are in greater use in some parts of the world than in others. In Puerto Rican Spanish some have fallen into disuse; others have special meaning for the Jíbaro. Tomás Navarro Tomás lists:¹⁷

Suffix		Example
-ía	used with action noun, pejorative	jaibaría
-azo	used with action noun, forceful	cascarazo
-ada	in frequent use to show collectivity	negrada
-ía	in frequent use to show collectivity	niguería
-aje	rare use to show collectivity	*negraje
-ío	rare use to show collectivity	*niguerío
-ura	natural condition or disposition	contentura
-ero	principle place of use	dormidero
-eño	showing place of birth or origin	altureño
-ero	office or profession	cafetalero
-ngo	names showing African origin	mandingo
-udo	pejorative suffix	peludo
-ito	diminutive used most frequently (even with roots ending in <u>t</u>)	gatito

¹⁷Op. cit., pp. 117-123.

-illo	diminutive used chiefly with tree names	cafeillo
-ete	diminutive used chiefly with domestic items or article of clothing	pantaleta
-azo	rarely used augmentative	hombrazo
-on	rarely used augmentative	hombron
-ona	rarely used augmentative	casona
-eron	rarely used augmentative	caseron

The augmentatives are rarely used. The Jibaro speaker will use grande instead. As Navarro Tomás states,¹⁸ hombre grande would be more common than hombrón or hombrazo and casa grande more common than casona or caseron. Frequently the pejorative form is casco de or trapo de rather than a suffix. For example, casco de perro or trapo de perro would be preferred to perrucho.

Adjectives formed from the past participle (root + /-ado/ or /-ido/) frequently drop the ad, leaving only the /-o/. For example hincho would be used in place of hinchado, etc. Also, adjectives are frequently formed a compounding process or agglutination: cabeza + dura > cabeci + dura > cabecidura.¹⁹

This adjective is then made to agree with the noun in gender: un hombre cabeciduro (a hardheaded man). These adjectives are frequently pejorative. Another agglutinative process occurs in conjunction with a reduction.²⁰ The locutions si señor and no señor have the second element reduced and subsequently affixed to the first element *si+se and no + se are thus connected to

¹⁸Op. cit., p. 122.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 123.

²⁰Ibid.

become sise and nose.

Thus it may be seen that there are some morphemic phenomena peculiar to Puerto Rico. They do not seem to be numerous and they would not prevent a person who speaks Spanish from understanding the Puerto Rican.

SYNTAX

Granda Gutierrez deplores the interference of English in the Spanish of Puerto Rico and cites the following errors in syntax as being attributable to it:²¹

- a) Empleo de sujeto pronominal redundante³⁸.
- b) Uso de la perífrasis estar + gerundio en sentido perfectivo o puntual, como traducción de la forma progresiva del verbo inglés³⁹.
- c) Empleo normal de la voz pasiva⁴⁰ frente a la preferencia hispánica por las formas verbales activas o pasivas reflejas.
- d) Intercalación de adverbios entre el auxiliar haber y el participio verbal⁴¹.
- e) Empleo anómalo y redundante de los adjetivos posesivos⁴².
- f) Sustitución del artículo por el demostrativo aquél, aquella, aquellos -as como calco del uso del those inglés⁴³.
- g) empleo redundante del indefinido uno⁴⁴.
- h) Empleo anómalo de en como sustitutivo de las preposiciones de, por o a.
- i) Calcos de giros ingleses (let + pron. + verbo, to wait for, if possible), del empleo inglés de who, well, then, how, etc.

La trascendencia de esta tendencia convergente del español puertorriqueño hacia el inglés difícilmente puede ser ignorada ni disminuída ya que no solo afecta al sistema lingüístico en sí, sino que, al mismo mismo [sic] tiempo, tiene importantes correlatos psicológicos en la conciencia

²¹German de Granda Gutierrez, Transculturación e interferencia lingüística en el Puerto Rico contemporáneo (1898- 1968), Publicaciones del Instituto Caro y Cuervo, XXIV. (Bogotá: Instituto Caro y Cuervo, 1968), pp. 168-169.

de los hablantes, aumentando en ellos el sentimiento de dependencia existencial respecto a los valores representados por la lengua influyente que se convierte, así, en portadora de conflictos, ambivalencias y frustraciones espirituales y simultáneamente deteriorando de modo progresivo la seguridad y confianza en el propio instrumento lingüístico, manejado con una falta de espontaneidad que conduce normalmente a la timidez expresiva y a la ultracorrección, extrañamente emparejadas con el plebeyismo y la actitud negativa frene a toda jerarquización valoradora⁴⁵.

Es todo este complejo de actitudes, entre otros factores, el que esta en la base del proceso que examinaremos a continuación [sic].

³⁸S. Gili Gaya, ob. cit., págs. 46-51, y J.L. Porras Cruz, E.A. Laguerre, S. Tío y C.R. Díaz de Olano, Recomendaciones para el uso del idioma español en Puerto Rico, San Juan, 1962, pag. 43.²²

³⁹S. Gili Gaya, ob. cit., págs. 63-64 y 70-71, y Recomendaciones, cit., págs. 52-56.

⁴⁰S. Gili Gaya, ob. cit., págs. 67-70, y Recomendaciones, cit., págs. 52-56.

⁴¹S. Gili Gaya, ob. cit., págs. 83-84, y Recomendaciones, loc. cit.

⁴²S. Gili Gaya, ob. cit., págs. 101-103, y Recomendaciones, cit. pag. 43.

⁴³S. Gili Gaya, ob. cit., págs. 103-104.

⁴⁴S. Gili Gaya, ob. cit., págs. 104-106, y Recomendaciones, cit., pag. 56.

⁴⁵Véanse sobre estos problemas T. Coteanu, A propos de langues mixtes (Sur l'istroroumain), en Mélanges Linguistiques, Bucarest, 1957, págs. 129-148; A. M. Badia Margarit, Some aspects of bilingualism among cultural people in Catalonia, en Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Linguists, Cambridge, Mass., págs. 366-373; Edith Buxbaum, The role of a second language in the formation of ego and superego, en Psychoanalytic Quarterly, 1949, págs. 279-289; J. H. S. Bossard, The bilingual as a person, Linguistic identification with status, en American Sociological Review, 1945, págs. 699-709; Susan Ervin, Semantic shift in bilingualism, en American Journal of Psychology, 1961, págs. 233-241; J. R. Firth, Personality and language in society, en Sociological Review, 1950, págs 37-52.

That is:

- a) Redundant use of the subject pronoun. [For example: yo tengo. (The verb already contains person and number.)]
- b) Use of the circumlocution estar to be + gerund in

²²Samuel Gili Gaya, Nuestra lengua materna. (San Juan: Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña, 1965).

the sense of on-going action, like a translation of the English present progressive tense. For example, estoy trabajando instead of trabajo.

c) Regular use of the passive voice despite the Spanish preference for active or reflexive verbs.

d) Placing the adverb between the auxiliary verb and the participle. For example, he lentamente trabajado instead of he trabajado lentamente (I have worked slowly.).

e) Anomalous and redundant use of possessive adjectives.

f) Substitution of the article for the demonstrative aquel, aquella, aquellos -as in imitation of the English word "those."

g) Redundant use of the indefinite uno (one).

h) Anomalous use of en as a substitute for de, por or a.

i) Imitations of the English trend (let + pron. + verb, to wait for, if possible), from the English use of who, well, then, how, etc.

The transcendence of this tendency toward the convergence of Puerto Rican Spanish and English is difficult to ignore or lessen since it affects not only the linguistic system itself, but also has important psychological correlatives in the minds of the speakers, augmenting in them the dependency on the values of the influential language, which becomes thus the carrier of conflicts, ambivalence and spiritual frustration, and, simultaneously, deteriorates progressively the security and confidence in their own linguistic instrument, carrying with it a lack of spontaneity and expressive timidity and ultracorrección, strangely paired with plebianism and a negative attitude toward the entire hierarchy of values.

It is this whole complex of attitudes, among other factors, to which we must turn our attention.

Zamora Vincente²³ also mentions the use of the estar with the infinitive to form a progressive tense, but also includes ir, venir, and ser as being used in the same way. In addition he notes the use of haber + de + infinitive to indicate the future tense or the use of ir + a + infinitive for the same purpose. He also lists the redundant pronoun phenomenon that Granda Gutierrez mentions in e) above.

On peculiarly Puerto Rican deviation in syntax, according to Kany²⁴, is the agreement of the gerund [sic] with the enclitic

²³Op. cit., p. 435.

²⁴Op. cit., p. 6.

object pronoun: quemándolo and quemándala (correctly quemándola) or muriéndase (correctly muriéndose).

He also mentions²⁵ as being Antillian and Venezuelan the usage ¿Que tu dices? in place of the standard ¿Que dices? and explains that some writers attribute it to English interference (as does Granda Gutierrez in e) above) and some to African usage. Kany feels it is a fusion of ¿tu quieres? and ¿que quieres? However, the fact that he mentions that it exists in Brazilian Portuguese may lend some weight to the theory of African influence. There is a large Negro population in Brazil. Marques uses exactly this locution on page 82 of La carreta: Doña Gabriela - ¿Que tu diseñ?

In closing we might mention two or three locutions preponderant or prevalent in the Antilles, all of which are mentioned by Kany.

'LO MAS' + ADVERB OR ADJECTIVE

In the colloquial and rustic speech of many regions is found an interesting adverbial, or less frequently adjectival locution that is rare in standard speech. It is 'lo mas + an adverb or an adjective' equivalent to 'muy + an adverb or an adjective': lo mas bien = muy bien, etc. very well ²⁶

A LAS CANSADAS

In the River Plate zone, Puerto Rico, Peru, Mexico, and possibly elsewhere, a las cansadas is used in the sense of "muy tarde, despues de mucha demora, a las mil y quinientas" "Malaret), with overtones of 'tired of waiting.'²⁷

In Costa Rica, New Mexico, and the Antilles, and probably elsewhere, we find rural survivals of a peculiar Old Spanish usage of expressing a wish with tomaría or tomará. [In place of ojalá.]²⁸

²⁵Ibid., p. 125.

²⁶Ibid., p. 308.

²⁷Ibid., p. 281.

²⁸Ibid., p. 262.

MAS NADA, MAS NUNCA

Occasionally we find the order of standard nada mas, nunca mas, and nadie mas reversed to mas nada, mas nunca, and mas nadie. This occurs in many regions of Spanish America, with apparent preponderance in the Antilles zone.²⁹

From the above, we may see that the morphology and syntax of Spanish are relatively stable in Puerto Rico. The lexicon has been shown in the preceding chapter to be more localized. Even more individual to Puerto Rico is the phonology of the Spanish spoken there, as will be shown in the next chapter.

²⁹Harris, p. 309.

DEVIATIONS FROM AMERICAN SPANISH PHONOLOGY

The Spanish of Puerto Rico has its own sound system, as does the Spanish of any region, or indeed the language of any region. As is to be expected, the major portion of the system is taken from the Spanish of Spain itself, but with the differences that time and separation from the mother country have imposed. The Spanish of Puerto Rico is primarily that of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries in southern Spain:

El fundamento del español americano está, naturalmente, en el llevado al Nuevo Mundo por los conquistadores. Ese castellano es el preclásico, la lengua de fines del siglo xv, la usada por Mena, Manrique y La Celestina y codificada en la Gramática de Nebrija. Es decir, una lengua anterior al esfuerzo creador de las grandes personalidades de los Siglos de Oro. A pesar de las sucesivas capas de español importado, el fondo patrimonial idiomático aparece vivamente coloreado por el arcaísmo y por la tendencia a la acentuación de los rasgos populares --lo que no excluye alguna que otra restauración escolar en determinados casos--.

Esa lengua, trasplantada aun no unificada, ofrecía aquí y allá vivos rasgos dialectales, provinciales. Es decir: no se había producido la unificación del período clásico. Por añadidura, si consideramos el origen de los primeros pobladores y conquistadores, en general de clases sociales poco refinadas, nos explicaremos aún mejor la fuerte inclinación hacia el léxico y los fenómenos fonéticos de aire popular o vulgar.

El español americano presenta, no obstante, una sólida homogeneidad sobre todo dentro de los niveles cultos. Las diferencias son más marcadas en las capas semicultas y vulgares. A pesar de todo, las diferencias, dentro del enorme territorio americano, son mínimas dentro de la estructura total del habla. Hay muchas menos diferencias entre dos regiones cualesquiera de la enorme América, por separadas que se encuentren, que entre dos valles vecinos de Asturias, por ejemplo. A lo largo del Nuevo Mundo, desde Nuevo Méjico a la Tierra del Fuego, los fenómenos fonéticos

se repiten. Algunas regiones denotan alguna preferencia por este o por el otro fenómeno, pero todos existen en todas partes, y, por añadidura, todos son conocidos en el español peninsular.¹

That is:

The basis of American Spanish is, naturally, the language brought by the conquistadors. This language is the preclassical, the language of the end of the fifteenth century, that used by Mena, Manrique and La Celestina² and codified by Nebrija in his Gramática.³ That is to say, a Spanish previous to the creative force of the great personalities of the Golden Age. In spite of the successive layers of imported Spanish, the original idiomatic foundation seems to live on colored by archaisms and the tendency toward the accentuation of the popular speech--that which does not exclude the occasional scholarly restoration in certain cases.

This language, transplanted even though not unified, offered here and there living dialectal and provincial traits. That is to say: the unity of classical Spanish had not yet been produced. In addition, if we consider the origin of the original colonists, in general a rather unrefined class, the popular and vulgar character of the lexicon and phonology is explained more clearly.

American Spanish presents, nevertheless, a solid homogeneity especially among the cultured classes. The differences are more marked among the semicultured and vulgar levels of society. In spite of everything, the differences, within the enormous American territory, are minimal within the total structure of the language. There are many fewer differences between any two regions of this enormous area, no matter how separated, than there would be between two neighboring valleys of Asturias, for example. Throughout the entire length of the New World, from New Mexico to Tierra del Fuego, the phonetic phenomena repeat themselves. Some regions show a preference for one phenomenon or the other, but all exist in all parts of the area, and in addition, all are known in peninsular Spanish.

¹Alonso Zamora Vicente, Dialectología Española (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, S.A. 1967), pp. 378-79.

²Variously known as La tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea or La comedia de Calisto y Melibea. Published in 1499, probably at Burgos and attributed to Fernando de Rojas.

³Elio Antonio de Nebrija (also Lebrija). Gramática. 1492.

Canfield further restricts the provenance of American Spanish in his La pronunciación del español en América.⁴

Hemos de buscar en Castilla los rasgos fundamentales del español americano, pero solo los cambios efectuados en el dialecto andaluz o en el leones-extremefio de este castellano, parecen haberse establecido en América. Así es que el ensordecimiento de las sibilantes sonoras intervocalicas, que las hace concidir con los fonemas sordos correspondientes, tanto como la perdida de /h/ aspirada y la confusión de /b/ y /v/, tuvieron su origen en Castilla la Vieja¹, pero se extendieron hacia el sur de España y por fin pasaron a América.

Por otra parte, en Sevilla y en las costas de Andalucía se perdía la s apicoalveolar, nivelandose su sonido y sus funciones con las de la c y z, hecho que no se verifico en el norte de España, y sin embargo se generalizo en América. Toledo parece haberse mantenido independiente de ambas tendencias, la nortefia y la surefia, por algun tiempo, asimilandose finalmente al modo castellano viejo, despues del establecimiento de la corte en Madrid².

Con el recuento de pobladores españoles segun su procedencia peninsular, hecho ultimamente por el profesor Peter Boyd-Bowman, se nota que el grupo preponderante de los colonos españoles era de Andalucía, y que otro contingente numeroso procedía de Extremadura. En los primeros años de la colonia en las Antillas casi la mitad de los pobladores eran de la misma ciudad de Sevilla. A través del siglo XVI sigue muy fuerte la corriente andaluza, extremeña y leonesa, que con las dos Castillas constituían la masa de los emigrantes a Indias. Con razón se habla de la influencia andaluza en la colonia americana³.

¹Lapesa, Historia de la lengua, 190, 191; Catalan, The End of the Phoneme /z/ in Spanish, 320-322.

²Véase Lapesa, Historia de la lengua, 169, 191, 246; Alonso, De la pronunciación, Introducción.

³Boyd-Bowman, Indice geobiografico (en prensa).⁵

That is:

We must look in Castille for the fundamental tendencies

⁴Delos Lincoln Canfield, La pronunciación del español en América: Ensayo histórico-descriptivo, Vol. XVII (Bogotá: Publicaciones del Instituto Caro y Cueva, 1962), pp. 65-66.

⁵Ibid., pp. 65-66.

(pueltorriqueño, izquiel; borsa, durse; etc.). Un andino de Venezuela ríe con un caraqueño y lo remeda: "Me vaj a mata?" Los andinos dicen que los caraqueños se comen las eses. Solo que lo piensan con h inicial y con c.

Es indudable que ese contraste tan radical entre tierras altas y tierras bajas no se debe a razones climatológicas. Las tierras bajas han sido colonizadas predominantemente por gentes de las tierras bajas de España, sobre todo de Andalucía, y tienen mas bien impronta andaluza. Las tierras altas tienen mas bien sello castellano, y su consonantismo tenso, a veces enfático, manifiesta la influencia de las lenguas indígenas: las grandes culturas americanas fueron culturas de las mesetas, y sus lenguas se caracterizaban precisamente por la riqueza del consonantismo.

Las diferencias llegan a su caracter extremo en ciertas regiones y en ciertas capas sociales. Se borran o se suavizan en los sectores cultos, que mantienen en general la integridad del vocalismo y aun del consonantismo. Si esas diferencias dan su caracter al habla regional, no afectan a la unidad del castellano general de América. El hablante de cualquier región hispánica que se desplaza por las otras regiones se siente en un primer momento desconcertado ante una serie de rasgos fonéticos diferenciales del habla popular, entre ellos la entonación y el tempo, y hasta dice: "No entiendo nada". Unos días de reacomodación le demuestran que lo entiende todo.⁶

That is:

It seems to me that a more fruitful differentiation, also espoused by Don Pedro Henríquez Ureña, is that between high and low lands. I distinguish them, by way of caricature, through their diet: the high lands eat vowels and the low lands eat consonants. In Mexico are frequently heard, but in no systematic manner: cafsito [cafesito], pas'ste [The author may mean pasaste or pasasteis.], exprimento [experimento], frasteros [forasteros], fosfro [fosforo], etc.; in Quito si p's [si pues], no p's [no pues]; in La Paz pot'si (Potosí); in Bogota muchismas gracias [muchisimas gracias]. On the other hand, in the Antilles, coasts and plains of Venezuela and Colombia, coastal Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay and Chile there is a general relaxation of the use of consonants, in various degrees according to the social class or the region: aspiration or loss of the s

⁶Ángel Rosenblat, El castellano de España y el castellano de América, cuadernas del Instituto de Filología "Andrés Bello", (2nd ed.; Caracas: Universidad Central de Venezuela, Facultad de Humanidades y Educación, 1965), pp. 34-36.

of American Spanish, but only those changes effected in the dialect of Andalusia or in that of Leon-Extremadura seem to have established themselves in America. Thus it is that the unvoicing of the sonant intervocalics, which are made to coincide with their surd counterparts, as well as the loss of the aspirated /h/ and the confusion of /b/ and /v/ had their origin in Castilla la Nueva, but were spread to the South of Spain and finally passed on to America.

On the other hand, in Seville and on the coasts of Andalusia the apicoalveolar s was lost, leveling itself in sound with the c and z, an act which is not verified in the North of Spain, and nevertheless is generalized in America. Toledo seems to have maintained both of these independent tendencies, for some time, assimilating them finally in the old Castilian manner, after the establishment of the court in Madrid.

With the counting of the Spanish settlers according to their peninsular provenance, finally done by Professor Peter Boyd-Bowman, it may be noted that the preponderant group of colonizers were from Andalusia, and that another numerous contingent were from Extremadura. In the first years of colonization in the Antilles almost half of the colonists were from Seville itself. Following the sixteenth century there was a very strong flow of settlers from Andalusia, Extremadura, and Leon, who with those from the two Castiles constituted the mass of the emigrants to the Indies. It is with reason that one speaks of the influence of Andalusia in the American colonies.

Rosenblat agrees as to the topographical differences in American

Spanish:

Más fructífera me parece la diferenciación, que también esbozo Don Pedro Henriquez Ureña, entre tierras altas y tierras bajas. Yo las distingo, de manera caricaturesca, por el régimen alimenticio: las tierras altas se comen las vocales, las tierras bajas se comen las consonantes. En Méjico se oye frecuentemente, aunque no de manera sistemática: cafsito, pas'sté, [sic] exprimento, frasteros, fوسفرو, etc.; en Quito si p's, no p's; en La Paz pot'si (Potosí); en Bogota muchismas gracias. En cambio en las Antillas, costas y llanos de Venezuela y Colombia, litoral argentino, Uruguay, Paraguay y Chile es general la relajación del consonantismo, en grado variable, según las regiones o los sectores sociales: aspiración y pérdida de s (lojombre, lo fóforo, la j ocho, pejcao); pérdida de la d intervocalica, en mayor o menor medida (no ha venio, una plancha, el deo); articulación relajada de la j, convertida en gran parte de esta area en débil aspirada laríngea (horhe 'Jorge', hefe 'jefe'); pérdida de la r final (voy a come; si, seño); en zonas extremas, confusión de r y l implosivas

(lo ombre [los hombres], lo fóforo [los fósforos], la ocho [las ocho], pejacao [pescado]; loss of the intervocalic d, in a greater or lesser measure (no ha venio [no ha venido], una plancha [una planchada], el deo [el dedo]); relaxed articulation of the j, changed in a large part of this area to a weak laryngeal aspirant (horhe 'Jorge', hefe 'jefe'); loss of the final r (voy a come [voy a comer], si, seño [si señor]); in extreme zones, confusion of implosive l and r (pueltorriqueño [puertorriqueño], izquielda [izquierda], borsa [bolsa], durse [dulce]; etc.). An Andean is fighting with a native of Caracas and imitates him: "Me vaj a mata?". People from the Andes say that those from Caracas eat s's. . . .

Doubtless these radical differences between the low and high lands are not attributable to climatic differences. The low areas were colonized by people who were predominantly from the low areas of Spain, especially Andalusia, and have the stamp of Andalusia. The high lands have the imprint of Castile and its tenseness in consonants, at times emphatic. The influence of the indigenous languages is manifest: the great cultures of the Americas were mesa cultures and their languages were characterized precisely by this richness in consonants.

The differences are brought to extremes in certain regions and in certain social classes. Among cultured classes the differences are lessened or erased. The educated classes maintain the integrity of the vowel or consonant values. If these differences give the regional speech their character, they do not affect the unity of American Spanish in general. A speaker from whatever area in which Spanish is spoken who finds himself in some other region is at first disconcerted by a series of distinctive phonetic traits in the popular speech, among them intonation and tempo, and even says: "I can't understand anything." A few days of becoming accustomed to the speech of the area will show him that he understands everything.

Kany further amplifies both similarities and differences:

It is logical that many local differences should have developed from the beginning, particularly in the spoken tongue, where they still thrive vigorously. When America was discovered, the Spanish language was still in a state of turmoil, its fluctuating forms were still aggressively combating one another for survival and preferment. Partial stability was attained only a century or a century and a half later. That early confusion was America's immediate heritage. Furthermore, the provenance and character of the colonists and early settlers differed from region to region. Mexico and Peru, for instance, represented an aristocratic nonprogressive regime, an extension of peninsular feudalism, in which adventurers could live in luxury and indolence. In Argentina and Chile, on the other hand, no ready wealth

was available other than the hard-earned products of a soil that had to be wrested, inch by inch, from roving bands of savage Indians. The hegemony of Madrid over Mexico City and Lima, centers of colonial culture, was naturally much greater than over regions like Argentina and Chile, which lay beyond the pale of such cultural influence. These countries lacking vice-royal courts, experienced a more rapid break in language tradition. The balance of social and linguistic values that was gradually being established in Spain failed to emerge where the impervious social fabric of the Old World was not maintained by vice-royal courts. Since social conventions and discipline were here relaxed, rural linguistic forms became urban, and traits considered vulgar or dialectal in Spain were here often raised to the dignity of an approved norm. The greater the culture of any group, the closer the adhesion to peninsular standards; but as the oral tradition of cultured speech crumbled, drift set in toward lower and impoverished expression, everyone spoke as he pleased, and measuring rods were lost. The speech habits of the original settlers, then, generally laid the foundation of a local mode, which may well have been altered in some degree by substratum and later by immigrants (such as Italians in Argentina, Negroes in the Antilles, Basques and Catalans in Venezuela, northern Spaniards in Chile, Cuba, etc.).

Local differences, however, are not nearly so great as many lexicographers have heretofore inclined us to believe. Ignorance of peninsular Spanish dialects and of the language of neighboring republics has often led Spanish-American investigators and compilers into great blunders. It happens again and again that such a compiler claims as strictly local a word or expression current not only in parts of Spain but also in most of Spanish America.⁷

And Canfield goes so far as to state:

Se observa, pues, que no se pueden establecer zonas americanas de pronunciación que correspondan a las entidades políticas actuales, ni tampoco a las zonas de influencia léxica indígena.

Las zonas americanas de pronunciación en general corresponden a la accesibilidad de los territorios para la evolución fonológica del castellano andaluz durante los siglos XVI y XVII. Por casualidad topográfica, las regiones altas representan generalmente los principios del andalucismo y, las costas, el pleno desarrollo.⁸

⁷Charles E. Kany, American-Spanish Syntax (2nd ed.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951), pp. XI-XII.

⁸Op. cit., p. 96.

That is:

It is observed, then, that it is not possible to establish American zones of pronunciation which correspond to the current political entities, nor to zones of indigenous lexical influence.

The zones of pronunciation in America correspond in general to the accessibility of the territories for the phonological evolution of the Spanish of Andalusia during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. By topographical chance, the high regions generally represent the beginnings of Andalusian dialect and the coasts the full development.

Let us begin then by taking each phoneme that occurs in Puerto Rican Spanish and establishing how widespread it is in the Spanish of that island. It will be necessary also to note certain phenomena that occur in Puerto Rican Spanish phonology, several of which are uniquely Puerto Rican. These phenomena will be discussed in connection with the phoneme involved. For example, the substitution of [l] for [ʎ] and its reverse will be discussed under the general heading of continuants in the grouping of [ʎ], [R], [r], [x] and [l] and [ʎ].

Some basic information concerning the basic phonetic structure of Spanish must be used as a foundation for describing what departures from that structure are found in Puerto Rican Spanish. Tomás Navarro Tomás gives such information in his Manual de pronunciación española,⁹ but Claude Merton Wise in his Applied Phonetics¹⁰ gives a more concise overview and has the added advantage of being in English. The Wise text will be used in the interests of clarity and accessibility.

⁹Tomás Navarro Tomás, Manual de pronunciación española, Vol. III of Publicaciones de la Revista de filología española, (13th ed.; New York: Las Americas Publishing Co., 1967).

¹⁰Claude Merton Wise, Applied Phonetics (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1957).

Vowels

[i]

Claude Merton Wise in his Applied Phonetics¹¹ gives the spellings and usage of the [i].

The sound [i] is uniformly spelled in Spanish with i and y. In fact, i and y in Spanish may be said to have no other pronunciation, except when they become [j], by reason of being followed by another vowel. But the Spanish phoneme [i] includes four variants, semi-close [i], semi-open [i] or [j], the unstressed [i] or [ɨ] and the centralized [i] or [ɪ] used in diphthongs. All of these [i]'s lie between English [i] and English [ɪ].

Vicente in his Dialectología Española¹² notes the change of unaccented [e] to [i]: vistido, visino, lisi3n, siguro, sig3n (vestido, vecino, lesi3n, seguro, seg3n.) In the corpus used in this study there are numerous examples of disir (decir). (Viz. p. 8) 3lvarez Nazario attributes this change to the influence of African languages.¹³ Vicente also notes the change of [e] to [i] when it is contiguous with another vowel: tiatro, pasiar, rial (teatro, pasear, real).¹⁴

Tom3s Navarro Tom3s in his El espa3ol en Puerto Rico¹⁵ states that the accented [i] in an open syllable is somewhat more open than the Castilian [i]: vino, piso The median [i] is present uniformly before palatal consonants, and the inclination to the open [ɪ]

¹¹Op. cit., p. 457.

¹²Op. cit., p. 379.

¹³Manuel 3lvarez Nazario, El elemento afronegroide en el espa3ol de Puerto Rico (San Juan: Instituto Cultural Puertorrique3a, 1961), p. 127.

¹⁴Loc. cit., p. 379.

¹⁵Tom3s Navarro Tom3s, El espa3ol en Puerto Rico (R3o Piedras: Editorial Universitaria, Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1966), p. 46.

is strengthened in connected syllables and before [x] and [r̄:]. The i is completely open [ɪ] before final s, whether aspirated or dropped.

In the interest of simplicity and because all of these [i]'s are so close in sound, only the [i] and the [ɪ] of diphthongs and [ɪ] before [x] and [R] will be used in the transcription of the corpus, except where Marqués definitely indicates [e] in spelling.

Wise¹⁶ states that:

[e]

The sound [e], spelled with e, is a pure vowel, as contrasted with the diphthongal English [eɪ]. It exists in two forms, the stressed [e] and the lax or unstressed [e].

a. Stressed [e] is a little less tense than French [e] in été, but otherwise resembles it greatly. It is found (except when adjacent to multiple trilled r [r̄:]): (a) in open syllables, as in pero ['pe-ro], señor [se-'h̄or], cena ['θe-na, 'se-na]; (b) in closed syllables before m, n, s, d, and z, and before x (pronounced [s]) plus a consonant, as in siempre ['sjem-pr̄], penitente [pe-ni-'ten-t̄], desde ['dez-d̄], [dez-'d̄],¹² pared [pa-'red, pa-'rē], vez [beθ, bes], expedir [es-pe-'ðir, es-pe-'ð̄ir].

b. Unstressed e or [e] occurs between more strongly stressed syllables, either primary or secondary. It occurs also finally before a pause. It is a true [e], not to be confused with such English unstressed vowels as [ɪ] or [ə], but it is very brief and slight. Thus, numero [nu-m̄-ro], noche ['no-t̄]. (The elevated [e] used here for demonstration is not used elsewhere in this book; [e] is used instead.)

¹²Orthographic s, nearly always pronounced [s], when followed immediately by a voiced consonant becomes voiced by assimilation and is pronounced [z], as in desde above. This voicing appears to be more frequent in Castilian than in colonial Spanish.

In the interest of simplicity the unstressed [e] will not be used in the transcription. It would seem to be so near the [e] in sound that the two are practically identical.

¹⁶Op. cit., pp. 158-59.

Contrary to the above statements by Wise, Tomás Navarro Tomás states in his El español de Puerto Rico:

El puertorriqueño suele hacer abierta la e en sílaba trabada por nasal: entra, tengo, ven, donde el castellano muestra ordinariamente e media. . . . Conviene añadir que la pronunciación abierta o semiabierta de la e es más general en los medios urbanos que en los pueblos rurales. El análisis de este punto entre los elementos estudiantiles ofreció más del 50% de formas abiertas en la e acentuada de dedo, cabeza, cesta, frente.

La abertura de e y o es análoga a la del castellano normal en circunstancias como las que representan las palabras cerca, perro, torpe, torre. Delante de j las dos vocales indicadas se oyen en la isla con timbre mas abierto que en las provincias castellanas: teja, oreja, hoja, coja. Dicha abertura llega en Puerto Rico a su grado maximo en sílaba trabada por la aspiración correspondiente a una s o z: crehata, pehte, bohque, treh, voh (voz).

Vocal final. Son abiertas la e y o finales, inacentuadas, cuando la sílaba fuerte va ocupada por alguno de esos mismos sonidos: eje, ojo, espejo, coge. Son igualmente abiertas la e y la o finales en sílaba trabada por aspiración: lunes, pesos.¹⁷

That is:

The Puerto Rican allows the e to be open in a syllable in which it is in contact with a nasal entra ['entra], tengo [tɛŋgo], ven [bɛn] where the Castilian would ordinarily show the median [e]. . . . It is fitting to add that the open or semi-open [ɛ] pronunciation of the [e] is more general in urban areas than in rural ones. The analysis of this point among the student subjects offered more than 50% of open forms in the accented [ɛ] in dedo [dɛ'ɔ], cabeza [ka'βɛsa], cesta ['sɛsta], frente [frɛnte].

The openness of e and o is analagous to the normal Castilian in circumstances like those represented in the words cerca ['sɛrka], perro ['pɛr:ɔ], torpe [tɔ'ɾpɛ], torre [tɔ're]. Before the j [x] both of the indicated vowels are heard with more openness in the island than in the Castilian provences: teja [tɛxa], orejo [ɔ'rexo], hoja [ɔxa], coja [kɔxa]. The said openness comes to its greatest level in a syllable where the vowel is contiguous with the aspiration

¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 44, 45, 46, 48.

corresponding to the s or z: crehta [k'ɾɛhta], pehte ['pehte], bohque [bɔhke], treh [t'ɾeh], voh (voz) [bɔh].

Final vowel. The final e and o, unaccented are open [ɛ], [ɔ] when the accented syllable contains one of the same sounds: eje ['ɛxe], ojo ['ɔxo], espejo [ɛspɛxo], coge [kɔxe]. Equally open are the final e and o in a syllable in contact with aspiration: lunes ['lunɛh], pesos [pesɔh]. (The above phonetic transcriptions supplied by this writer.)

And Canfield¹⁸ adds:

Aunque se hayan senalado casos de influjo del fonetismo indígena en el español de América, en rigor son muy pocos y algo dudosos los casos documentados.

En cuanto a la vocal, el caso del timbre abierto del Caribe y de regiones costeñas, es otra vez aspecto del pleno desarrollo andaluz;

⁹Suarez, El español que se habla en Yucatan, 49;
Toscano Mateus, El español en el Ecuador, 49-60, 79;
Malmberg, Notas sobre la fonética.

That is:

Even though cases of the influence of indigenous phonology in the Spanish of America have been noted, in reality the documented cases are very few and somewhat doubtful.

Concerning the vowel the case of the open timbre of the Caribbean and of coastal regions, is, again, an aspect of the full development of Andalusian Spanish.

In the corpus the open e [ɛ] has been used before nasals, in unaccented syllables and in some accented syllables, and before final [x]. It must be remembered that [e] and [ɛ] are allophones of [e]. In any case, the [ɛ] does exist in colonial Spanish as is shown in Wise.¹⁹

[ɛ]

Open e or [ɛ] occurs:

1. In closed syllables except those closed by d, m, n, s, z, or x (pronounced [s]). Thus, mantel [man-'tɛl], dirreccion [di-rɛɣ-'θjɔn, di-rɛk-'sjɔn].

¹⁸Op. cit., p. 93.

¹⁹Op. cit., p. 459.

2. In open syllables, if in contact with multiple trilled r [r̄:], as in regla [ˈr:ɛ-ɣla], perro [pɛ-r:ɔ].

3. In open syllables before the sound [x], as in lejos [ˈlɛ-xɔs], Mejico [ˈmɛ-xi-ko], Tejas [ˈtɛ-xɔs].

4. In the diphthongs [ɛi] and [ɛu] as in rey [r:ɛi], reina [r:ɛi-na], reuma [r:ɛu-ma].

Tomás Navarro Tomás is in disagreement with Wise, at least in the case of Puerto Rican Spanish, as is noted above.

[a]

In discussion of the orthographic a Wise²⁰ writes:

The pronunciation of a in Spanish is in general [a]. But the [a] of Spanish is a little farther back, i. e., more centralized than the [a] of French, or of English. It varies considerably according to the sounds with which it is in contact, tending to be farther back when back sounds are adjacent. In a limited number of cases, it is far enough back to be written [ɑ]. (See below.)

1. [a] occurs as the pronunciation of the a-spelling everywhere except in those cases listed under [ɑ] below. Thus carta [ˈkar-ta], lado [ˈla-do, ˈla-ðo], padre [pa-ðre, ˈpa-ðre].

2. When [a] precedes ch, ll, n, and y, it is perceptibly farther back than in the average case, but not far enough back to warrant the use of the symbol [ɑ]. . . .

[ɐ], spelled a, the unstressed form of [a], occurs in definitely unstressed positions, medial and final, as in casa [ka-sɐ], caballero [ka-ɐ-ˈle-ro, ka-ɐ-ˈje-ro]. It is acoustically intermediate between English [a] and [ə]. (The close transcription [ɐ], used here for demonstration, will not be used elsewhere in this book; [a] will be used instead.)

Tomás Navarro Tomás agrees.²¹

Vocales. --A. La pronunciación de la a presenta de ordinario en Puerto Rico el mismo timbre que en español normal. Se observa, sin embargo, en el habla de la isla acusada inclinación al tipo de la a anterior.

La falta de velarización se manifiesta sobre todo en

²⁰Op. cit., pp. 459-60.

²¹Op. cit., pp. 41, 43, 44.

poblaciones del litoral, como San Juan, Trujillo Alto, Loiza, Naguabo, Humacao, etc. . . . La variante posterior, con timbre más o menos desarrollado, aparece en contrastes fonológicos, en aquellos casos en que la aspiración final llega a perder prácticamente todo su papel. "¿Onde va?", con a palatal o media indica la tercera persona mientras que con a posterior equivale a vas.

That is:

The pronunciation of the a ordinarily presents the same timbre as that of normal Spanish. There is observed, nevertheless, in the island an inclination to the anterior a [a].

The lack of velarization is manifested above all in the coastal population, such as in San Juan, Trujillo Alto, Loiza, Naguabo, Humacao, etc. . . . The posterior variant [a], with a more or less developed timbre, appears in phonetic contrasts, in those cases in which final aspiration comes to the point of almost total loss. ¿Onde va?, with a palatal or medial a indicates the third person while the posterior [a] is equivalent to vas (second person: [ba]).

Thus the [a] will be used only in diphthongs, [aɪ] and [aʊ], the combination ao, which is not a diphthong (being two strong vowels), and where the author uses the interjection ah [a:]; before and after [x], [ɣ] and [R]. Or as Wise states:²²

[a], spelled a, occurs as follows:

1. In the diphthongs [ai], as in baile ['bai-le], and [au] as in flauta ['flau-ta].
2. Immediately before o, as in carabao [ka-ra-'θa-o].
3. In contact with [ɣ] or [x], as in rogar [ʔ:o-'ɣar], bajo ['ba-xo].
4. Before l final in a syllable, as in maldad [mal-'dad mal-'dað].

Navarro Tomás agrees:²³ "La mayor frecuencia de la a velar se da en la isla ante las vocales o, u." or "The greatest frequency of the velar [a] is found before o and u in the island." Again we must

²²Op. cit., p. 460.

²³Op. cit., p. 43.

emphasize that [a] and [a] are allophones and not separate phonemes.

[o]

As Wise²⁴ indicates:

1. Spanish [o], spelled o, is pure, i.e., not diphthongal like the English [ov]. It is a little lower than English o and occurs in open syllables, as in osos ['o-sɔs], como ['ko-mo].

2. Relaxed or unstressed [°], spelled o, occurs in definitely unstressed positions, either medially between stressed syllables as in automovil [qu-t°-'mo-ɸil], or finally as in bajo [ba-x°]. (The close transcription [°], used here for demonstration, is not used elsewhere in this book; [o] is used instead.)

Navarro Tomás²⁵ agrees showing a median o [o] in all cases of the use of o in the Northeast of Puerto Rico. Final o may become [u] in the remainder of the island. He does not agree with Wise²⁶ in the use of [°], he prefers an open o [ɔ]. [o] and [ɔ] are allophones.

[ɔ]

Spanish [ɔ], spelled o, is higher than English [ɔ], and therefore nearer [o]. [ɔ] occurs:

1. In closed syllables, as donde ['dɔn-de], dos [dɔs].

2. Adjacent to a long trilled r [r:], as in correr [kɔ-'r:ɛr].

3. Preceding the sound [x], as in rojo [rɔ-xo].

4. In the diphthongs oi and oy, as in soy [sɔi], heroico [e-'rɔi-ko].

5. Stressed and between a and l or r, as in la olive [la-ɔ-'li-βe], la oracion [la-ɔ-ra-'θjɔn, la-ɔ-ra-'sjɔn].

Navarro Tomás²⁷ shows the use of [ɔ] before r and rr and also before [x] and h. He also shows its use at the ends of words containing e or o in a stressed syllable before the final o. He says that

²⁴Op. cit., p. 460.

²⁵Op. cit., pp. 259-62

²⁶Op. cit., p. 460.

²⁷Op. cit., p. 46.

the tendency is especially strong after ch.²⁸

In the corpus the rules indicated by Navarro Tomás will be used.

[ʊ]

Wise gives a description for this phoneme in his Applied Phonetics:²⁹

Spanish [ʊ], spelled u, is a little higher than English [ʊ] with the result that Spanish [u] and [ʊ] are very close together. occurs:

1. In closed syllables, as in culpa ['kʊl-pa].
2. Before long-trilled r, as in burro ['bu-r:ɔ].
3. Before the sound [x], as in mujer [mu-'xɛr].

(In some colonial speech, [ʊ] is seldom heard. In most Spanish, it is safe to use [u] for u always, since [ʊ] is a non-distinctive allophone of /u/.

Tomás Navarro Tomás³⁰ agrees with Wise's conclusions but adds that u before final s, z, or h is completely open [ʊ], and that this is also true when such final letters or phonemes are completely lost.

Vicente³¹ states that o before a stressed syllable changes to u and that u before a stressed syllable changes to o. These changes are probably not so complete as he suggests. It would seem more likely that they both become [ʊ], the intermediate sound, which might not be distinguishable to the ear of a native Spanish speaker. The [ʊ] is an allophone of [u] and might also be an allophone of [o]. It would seem unprofitable to proceed in transcription on such nebulous data. Thus the rules stated by Wise and Navarro Tomás and given above will be used in the transcription of the corpus. [ʊ] and [u] are allophones.

²⁸Op. cit., p. 50.

²⁹Op. cit., p. 460.

³⁰Op. cit., p. 46.

³¹Op. cit., p. 380.

[u]

This phoneme is not commented upon by Tomás Navarro Tomás, probably because it would be considered the normal pronunciation of the orthographic u. Wise³² gives the following rules which will be used in the transcription of the corpus.

[u]

1. [u], spelled u, in Spanish is a little lower than English u. It occurs in open syllables, as in musica ['mu-si-ka], uno ['u-no].
2. [u], spelled u, occurs in relaxed and unstressed positions, as in capítulo [ka-'pi-tu-lo], tengo un libro ['teŋ-go-un-'li-βro].
3. The centralized occurs in the diphthongs a, o, as in flauta 'fl -ta, reuma 'r: -ma, bou bo. (The symbol will not be further used.)

Before dealing with the diphthongs and triphthongs of Spanish one final note should be made of a vowel phenomenon discussed by Navarro Tomás:³³

En algunos lugares la vocal protónica interior aparece con sonido reducido y apagado: nec (e) sario, prom (e) ter, cap(i) tal. En otros puntos esa misma vocal se pronuncia con alargamiento y detención: volve:re, cora:zon, repi:car. Donde la protónica se reduce la vocal acentuada aumenta su duración, y donde aquella se prolonga la acentuada se recorta y abrevia. La correspondencia entre débil-breve y fuerte-larga es un hecho general que en parte de Puerto Rico se manifiesta con movimiento mas visible que en otros países. La oposición entre débil-larga y fuerte-breve se aparta de las normas regulares y conocidas. . . . El alargamiento de esa misma vocal es mas frecuente en el este y sobre todo en las zonas en que mas abunda la población de color.

That is:

In some places the interior pretonic vowel [that

³²Op. cit., pp. 460-61.

³³Op. cit., p. 47.

immediately anterior to the stressed syllable] appears with a reduced and extinguished vowel: nec (e) sario, prom (e) ter, cap (i) tal. In other places the same vowel is pronounced with lengthening and delay: volve:re, cora:zon, repi:car. Where the pretonic is reduced the accented vowel augments its duration, and where it is prolonged the accented vowel is shortened. The correspondence between weak-brief and strong-long is a general fact which in part of Puerto Rico is manifested with a more visible movement than it is in other countries. The opposition between weak-long and strong-brief departs from the regular and known norms. . . . The lengthening of this vowel is more frequent in the East [where the first act of La carreta is set] and above all in zones where the colored population is more abundant.

Except where Marqués had definitely indicated a complete change in orthographic vowel, the transcription of the corpus will not depart from the orthographic vowel by more than one phonemic step. That is, orthographic o would be written [o] or [ɔ] or [ʊ], the next vowel below and above respectively, but not [u] or [ɹ].

Diphthongs

The diphthongs of Spanish are numerous and are commonly divided into increasing and decreasing classes. In the decreasing class the stress is greater on the first element; the reverse is true for the increasing class. Wise³⁴ lists the diphthongs using this class separation. Special note must be made of the difference between diphthongs and adjacent vowel with plus juncture. Spanish is said to have strong vowels (a, e, o) and weak vowels (i, y, and u). Any combination of a strong and weak vowel is a diphthong except when the weak vowel carries an accent mark. In this case the vowels belong to two different syllables. Another way of explaining decreasing diphthongs would be that the weak vowel follows the strong; the increasing has the weak

³⁴Op. cit., p. 461.

vowel first.

Wise's listings and transcriptions are:

The Spanish diphthongs have been touched upon in the preceding paragraphs. Spanish phoneticians divide them into what are sometimes called decreasing or falling diphthongs, i.e., diphthongs in which the first element receives the stress, and increasing or rising diphthongs, i.e. diphthongs in which the second element receives the stress.

1. The so-called decreasing diphthongs are ai or ay [ai], au [au], ei or ey [ɛi], oi or oy [ɔi], eu [ɛu], ou [ou]. Thus, baile ['bai-le], causar [kɔu-'sar], estoy [es-'tɔi], heroica [e'rɔi-ka], rey [r:ɛi], reina [r:ɛi-na], reuma [r:ɛu-ma], bou [bou].

2. The so-called increasing diphthongs of Spanish are actually vowels preceded by [j] or [w]. They are ia, ie, io, iu, ua, ue, ui, uo, as in lluvia ['ju-ɔja, 'ju-ɔja, ples [pjes], patio ['pa-tjo], cuidad [sic] [θju-'dað, [sju-'ʒað], agua ['a-ɣwa], puede ['pwe-ðe, 'pwe-ʒe], cuota ['kwi-ta], cuota ['kwo-ta].

Tomás Navarro Tomás agrees concerning [ɛi] and [ɔi], but states that [ai] is [ai] in Puerto Rico: "El matiz palatal con que se oye en Puerto Rico la a de aire, baile, supera de ordinario al que el español común emplea en esos mismos vocablos."³⁵ Or "The palatal matrix with which the a of aire and baile are heard in Puerto Rico surpasses the ordinary palatalization which is heard in common Spanish." Thus [ai] will be used in the corpus transcription. Since [aɤ], [ɛɤ] and [oɤ] are not mentioned in El español en Puerto Rico, it is assumed that they do not differ from those diphthongs in normal Spanish.

Navarro Tomás notes on the same page that:

En varios lugares los diptongos ie, ue, ua, en posición acentuada, fueron pronunciados haciendo caer el principal apoyo del acento sobre i, u: piédra, puérta, cúatro. Las vocales a, e, subordinadas en estos casos al elemento inicial de cada grupo, perdían parte de su claidad y

³⁵Op. cit., p. 53.

duración.

That is:

In various locations the diphthongs ie, ue, ua, in the accented position were pronounced with the principal accent falling on the i, u: piédra, puérta, cúatro. The vowels a, e, subordinated in these cases to the initial element of each group, lost part of their clarity and duration.

Such cases of shift of accent are shown by Marqués in his dialogue.

In the case of the rising diphthongs Navarro Tomás agrees with Wise that diphthongs beginning with u are really a semiconsonant and a vowel ui > wi. He makes special note of some typically Puerto Rican phenomena in these diphthongs.

La semiconsonante w comunica parte de su redondeamiento labial a la vocal que la sigue. Los ejemplos en que esta influencia se hace mas visible corresponden al diptongo ue: cueva, nuevo. La misma asimilación o contaminación se verifica, con variable medida en los diptongos ua, ui de cuatro, cuarto, guarapo, guajana, cuida, ruido, güiro, pajuil. El redondeamiento de la e, favorecido además por la o final, alcanza en palabras como fuego, huevo, rasgos mas acusados que en punte o nueve. En algunos casos de tal especie el diptongo ue se redujo prácticamente a una simple e labializada. Se advierte, sin embargo, que el desarrollo de esta tendencia está fuertemente refrenado por el sentimiento general contra el efecto rústico de su resonancia abocinada y oscura.¹ En cuida y muy el acento se asienta sobre la u.³⁶

¹El mismo sentimiento refrena la velarización excesiva de a en causa, auto, laurel, ahora, caos. Es claro que hasta personas mas o menos cultas suelen seguir también la inclinación vulgar en la variable fonética de la conversación descuidada.

That is:

The semiconsonant w communicates part of its labial rounding to the vowel which follows. The examples in which

³⁶Op. cit., pp. 54-55.

this influence is most visible are those with the diphthong ue: cueva, nuevo. The same assimilation or contamination is varified with variable measure in the diphthongs ua, ui in cuatro, cuarto, guarapo, guajana, cuida, ruido, güiro, pajuil. The rounding of the e, additionally favored by a final o, reaches in words like fuego, huevo more marked characteristics than in punte or nueve. In some cases of that type the diphthong ue is reduced practically to a simple labialized e. Note, nevertheless, that the development of this tendency is strongly braked by a general feeling against the rustic effect of its dark and trumpeting resonance. In cuida and muy the accent falls on the u.

¹The same feeling brakes the excessive velarization of the a in causa, auto, laurel, ahora, caos. It is clear that even people more or less cultured allow themselves to follow this vulgar inclination in the variable phonetics of unguarded conversation.

Marqués uses mu for muy, carrying the tendency to accent the u of [ui] to its ultimate, the loss of the vowel.

Vicente³⁷ notes the possibility of excessive diphthongization and lack of diphthongization: "12) Diptongación excesiva (prieta, dientista) o falta de diptongación (quebras 'quiebras', apreta 'aprieta').

Triphthongs

Wise disposes of the triphthongs of Spanish with the statement that they are really a combination of a diphthong and a semi-vowel.

The so-called triphthongs of Spanish, are, in fact, diphthongs introduced by [j] or [w]. They are as follows:

1. iai [jai], as in estudiais [es-tuð- 'jais, es-tuð- 'jais].
2. iei [jei], as in cambieis [kam- 'bjeis].
3. uay or uai [wai], as in Uruguay [u-ru- 'ɣwai], aguaís [a- 'ɣwais].
4. uei or uey [wei], as in continueis [kən-tin- 'weis], buey [bwei]. (This [w] may, if spoken slowly, sound to

³⁷Op. cit., p. 380.

English speakers like [uw].)³⁸

It should be noted that Puerto Rican Spanish has a greater incidence of seeming diphthongs and triphthongs than does general American Spanish. This is caused by the loss of intervocalic d. Examples of this would be pasado [pa'sao], cambiado [kambi'jao]. The reader will note that in the case of [pa'sao] the [a] is used rather than the [a] which would be used normally in an ao combination. In both [ao] and [ao] two strong vowels are used. Therefore, the vowels belong to different syllables and are not components of a diphthong as is noted under [a] above. The [a] is used in this transcription where intervocalic d is lost, because the native speaker would be aware of that loss and use the appropriate vowel sound even though the d is not there. In [suxta'niʝo] the d has been replaced by [j] because of the natural tendency to use the glide between a high front vowel and a low middle or back vowel. Also in cases where a high or middle back vowel is before and in contact with a lower vowel the [w] has been added, especially where intervocalic d has been lost e.g. toda ['towa], and for similar reasons. Thus these orthographic vowel groups pasao, cambiao in Marqués are not really diphthongs and triphthongs. One final note must be made concerning vowels. Tomás Navarro Tomás³⁹ in his Studies in Spanish Phonology points to phonetic differences before the aspirated s and z or the loss of such final graphemes.

³⁸Op. cit., p. 461.

³⁹Tomás Navarro Tomás, Studies in Spanish Phonology, trans. by Richard D. Abraham, Miami Linguistics Series, No. 4 (Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1968), pp. 36-37.

Dialectal evolution in regions of Spain and Spanish America still not well defined shows signs that indicate the beginnings of an important modification in the five single-vowel phonemes system of Spanish. This phenomenon arises from the phonetic transformation caused in those regions by the loss of the hereditary aspiration of the word-final s and z.

The aspiration of these consonants is in general weaker and more tenuous in word-final than in medial position. Frequently, such a final aspiration comes out not with its original voiceless timbre, but as a light voiced breath which at times seems to be a mere prolongation of the preceding vowel, with the disappearance of all perceptible remains of the aspirated element.

My observations on this matter, expounded in the homage to Trubetzkoy, of the Cercle linguistique de Prague and in the Revista de Filología Hispanica, Buenos Aires, 1939, were limited to Andalusian pronunciation. Before the voiceless aspiration of final s and z of general Andalusian, the vowel of the same final syllable acquires a relatively open timbre. This increases its degree of opening when the aspiration becomes voiced, a frequent happening in popular Andalusian speech. When this aspiration disappears, the vowel keeps its open timbre thus assuming the semantic function corresponding to the eliminated s and z.

As a result of such a change, words apparently reduced to a same form maintain their semantic differentiation by means of the timbre of their respective final vowel. The phonemic value of this vowel allows the distinction, for example, between dió, a verb, with middle timbre o and dio(s), a noun, with open o, as well as between perdí, the verb, with middle i, and perdi(z), the noun, with open i.

The differentiation is particularly active between singular and plural: boca, casa, puerta, with middle a, and boca(s), casa(s), puerta(s) with a more open and farther back; pie, diente, peine, with middle e, and pie(s), diente(s), peine(s), with open e; pelo, toro, campo, with middle o, and pelo(s), toro(s), campo(s), with open o.

The phonemic distinction takes place likewise in the conjugation of verbs between the second and the third person of some tenses of the verb: va, canta, iba, tendra, diga, viera, with final middle a, and va(s), canta(s), iba(s), tendra(s), diga(s), viera(s), with a more open and farther back a; viene, pierde, cante, llegue, with final middle e, and viene(s), pierde(s), cante(s), llegue(s), with open e.

Summary of Vowel Usage

It would be well at this point to try to conflate the above

given rules of pronunciation of vowels of Puerto Rican Spanish as written in the corpus. For this purpose the International Phonetic Alphabet symbols will be used to indicate the sound intended. Additional alphabetic symbols will be used to mean the following:

A	affricate
C	consonant
Cu	unvoiced consonant
Cv	voiced consonant
D	diphthong
Dd	decreasing diphthong
V	vowel
Vs	strong vowel

Lower case typewritten letters underlined are intended to indicate the grapheme:

<u>a</u>	orthographic a
<u>b</u>	orthographic b
<u>c</u>	orthographic c
	etc.

The following symbols are used to indicate:

+	word boundary
+	syllable boundary
#	sentence boundary
→	rewrite
=	equals
≠	but not
∅	nil

<u>a</u>	{	{	$\frac{\text{C}}{\text{[i]}}$	{#}	(velar continuant)	}	→	[a]
	{	{	$\frac{\text{V}}{\text{X}}$		(see diphthong)		→	[a]
<u>u</u>	{	{	$\frac{\text{Cv}}{\text{C}}$	{#}	(continuant)	}	→	[u]
	{	{	$\frac{\text{V}}{\text{X}}$		(see diphthong and triphthong)		→	[u]

Diphthongs

Decreasing:

$\frac{\text{ai}}{\text{ay}}$ → [aɪ]

au → [aʊ]

$\frac{\text{ei}}{\text{ey}}$ → [ɛɪ]

$\frac{\text{oi}}{\text{oy}}$ → [ɔɪ]

eu → [ɛʊ]

ou → [oʊ]

Level

ao → [aʊ]

ae → [e] *

Increasing*

i / v → [j]

*The second element of an increasing diphthong or the e of ae are subject to the variations given for the orthographic symbol above.

\underline{i}	/	$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{---}^+v \\ \text{---}v \end{array} \right\}$	\rightarrow	$[i]^+[j]$
\underline{y}	/	$\# \text{---}^v \neq \# \text{---} v$	\rightarrow	$\begin{bmatrix} j \\ \text{---}j \end{bmatrix}$
\underline{u}	/	$\text{---}v \neq \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{---}^+v \\ \text{---}v \end{array} \right\}$	\rightarrow	$[w]$
\underline{u}	/	$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{---}^+v \\ \text{---}v \end{array} \right\}$	\rightarrow	$[u]^+[w]$

Triphthongs

\underline{i}	/	---^D	\rightarrow	$[j]$
\underline{u}	/	---^D	\rightarrow	$[w]$

Consonants

[p]

Wise gives the grapheme p the sound [p] and notes that it is "unaspirated, even in initial positions." He then gives exceptions to this pronunciation:

1. In rapid or careless speech, p before c or s may become [ɸ]. Thus concepcion [kənθɛɸ'θj n, kənsɛɸ'sjɔn]. In substandard speech this p may be entirely silent.
2. p is silent in the initial ps of words from the Greek. Thus, psicopata [siko'pata].
3. p is silent in rapid or informal conversation in words from the Latin containing pc, as in inscripcion [inskri'θjɔn, inskri'sjɔn].
4. p is silent in rapid speech, even of the rank of standard, in words from the Latin contains pt, as Septiembre [sic] [sɛ'tjembre].⁴⁰

It is difficult to imagine the change indicated by Wise under exception one above and by Tomás Navarro Tomás in Manual de pronunciación española.⁴¹ If, as he seems to indicate, progressive assimilation

⁴⁰Op. cit., pp. 461-62.

⁴¹Op. cit., p. 83.

is involved, the sound of p would not be the voiced [p], but the unvoiced [p̥], since s and c (before i and e) have the sound [s] which is surd. The [p̥] would seem even more likely when exception three is taken into account. That is, it would seem to be more likely to drop a surd than it would a sonant. In any case, rule three will be followed in the transcription of the chosen corpus. The conversation is quite informal in La carreta.

Also the word septiembre is spelled with and without the p in the most recent edition of the Diccionario de la lengua española authorized by the Royal Academy,⁴² as are septimo and setimo. Thus exception four above may not be necessary now. Tomás Navarro Tomás states in El español en Puerto Rico: "Consonantes Oclusivas. -- Rasgo general de estas consonantes en la pronunciación puertorriqueña, así de las sordas p, t, k, como de las sonoras b, d, g, es la suavidad de su timbre y su tensión relativamente débil."⁴³ Or "The general characteristic of these consonants in Puerto Rican pronunciation, in the surds p, t, k, just as in the sonants b, d, g, is the softness of their timbre and the laxness of their tension."

[b]

Wise states:

[b] is spelled b or v. It occurs in the following-named positions:

1. Initial in a breath group (the absolute initial

⁴²Real Academia Española, Diccionario de la lengua española (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1970), pp. 1194 and 1199.

⁴³Op. cit., p. 58.

position), as in baile ['baile], vaso ['baso].

2. After a nasal, within a word or by juxtaposition of words. Thus, hombre ['ɔmbre], un beso [um 'beso], invitar [imbi'tar], un vaso [um 'baso].⁴⁴

This second point would seem to be somewhat arguable. In all of the cited utterances the lips move from the closed position to an open position for the ensuing vowel. Is it not possible that in such a case the phoneme might be [β] rather than [b]. Wise is arguing here that the assimilation is reciprocal. The n in invitar has become [m] by regressive assimilation and an internal y which is normally [β] has then become [b] by progressive assimilation. However [b] will be used for b following nasals in the transcription.

The fact that b and v are equally [b] or [β] in Puerto Rican Spanish is attested to by Malaret in the unnumbered pages of introduction to his Diccionario de americanismos: "Ignoramos la 'v' fricativa; cambiamos la 'v' en 'b', como nuestros hermanos peninsulares."⁴⁵ Or "We will ignore the fricative v, we change the 'v' into 'b', as do our peninsular brothers." And Canfield in his La pronunciación del español en America states:

B y V.

En cuanto al fonema /b/ del castellano moderno, parece que representa también una fusión de dos fonemas /b/ y /v/, la segunda de articulación labiodental en gran parte de España hasta fines del siglo xvi¹³. En el norte la fricativa se pronunciaba bilabial y se confundía con la /b/. Otra vez la tendencia nortea pudo extenderse al sur y por lo tanto a América. Aunque si hay vestigios de fricativa labiodental v en el sur de Arizona y norte

⁴⁴Op. cit., p. 462.

⁴⁵Augusto Malaret, Diccionario de americanismos (Buenos Aires: 1946), unnumbered introductory pages.

de México¹⁴, no existe en América lugar donde haya distinción fonémica, salvo en el habla amanerada^{15.46}

¹³Alonso, De la pronunciación, 23-71.

¹⁴Post, Southern Arizona Spanish Phonology, 32. Dice la señorita Post que la labiodental se oye solo en los que hablan inglés también, pero a mí, que aprendí a pronunciar el español en Nogales de los 12 a los 15 años de edad, me consta que las labiodentales de estas dos lenguas son distintas, siendo el sonido castellano mas postdental de articulación, y por lo tanto, propicio a convertirse en bilabial.

¹⁵Navarro, Pronunciación, 92. El judeoespañol oriental si tiene labiodental (Lapesa, Historia de la lengua, 336).

That is:

With regard to the phoneme /b/ of modern Castilian, it appears that it represents also a fusion of the two phonemes /b/ and /v/ the second having labiodental articulation in a large part of Spain until the end of the sixteenth century. In the North the fricative was pronounced bilabially and confused with the /b/. Again the northern tendency was able to extend itself to the South and thus to America. Even though there are vestiges of the labiodental fricative /v/ in the south of Arizona and the North of Mexico, there does not exist in America a place in which there is a phonetic distinction, except in affected speech.

¹⁴... Miss Post says that the labiodental is heard only in those who speak English as well, but to me, who learned to pronounce Spanish in Nogales when I was from twelve to fifteen years old, it seems that the labiodentals of the two languages are distinct, feeling that the Castilian sound is more postdental in articulation and for that reason more likely converted into a bilabial.

¹⁵... The eastern Judeo-Hispanic language has a labiodental. ...

Thus [b] and [v] are allophonic in Spanish, as is also [β] which will be discussed below.

⁴⁶Op. cit., p. 69.

[t]

Wise states:

[t] is spelled t as in tío ['tio], tortilla [tər'tiɫa, tər'tija]. Exception: Final t in a syllable in informal speech. Here [t] becomes [ð] or [ʃ], as in atleta [ad'leta, að'leta].

[t] in Spanish is unaspirated, even in initial positions. It is also dental.⁴⁷

His exception seems to refer more to progressive assimilation than to a general rule. A final t in a syllable would be rare in Spanish. Indeed Harris states: ". . . noncontinuants also voice before voiced obstruants . . .--examples are hard to find since p, t, k do not occur in this position in native words."⁴⁸ He would disagree with Wise because he says ". . . they do not voice before liquids (aplicar, aprecio, atleta, atroz, aclarar, acreditar.)"⁴⁹ In the transcription the sound closest to the grapheme will be used, as Tomás Navarro Tomás does not mention these contexts.

[d]

Wise states very simply and clearly:

[d], spelled d, occurs as follows:

1. d initial in a breath group (the absolute initial position), as in día ['dia].
2. d after l or n, as in maldad [maɫ'dað, maɫ'daʃ], mandolina [mando'lina].

[d] in Spanish is dental.⁵⁰

In his Vocabulario de Puerto Rico Malaret notes: "La pérdida

⁴⁷Op. cit., p. 462.

⁴⁸James W. Harris, Spanish Phonology, Research Monograph No. 54 (Cambridge, Mass.: The M.I.T. Press, 1969), p. 44.

⁴⁹Loc. cit.

⁵⁰Op. cit., p. 462.

de la d inicial en verbos compuestas con des es bastante común en el pueblo."⁵¹ Or "The loss of the initial d in verbs using the prefix des is quite common in the territory."

Tomás Navarro Tomás in El español en Puerto Rico notes the general trait of softness and relatively weak tension in the pronunciation of occlusive consonants.⁵²

The loss of the initial d is attested to in the corpus in the words ehmayao (desmayado) (p. 25 of La carreta) and ehcocatal (descocatar) (p. 45 of La carreta). Such loss is also attested to in the lexical listings in Vocabulario de Puerto Rico by Malaret⁵³ and Diccionario general de americanismos by Santamaría⁵⁴ under e listings at words regularly listed under d. For intervocalic and final d see [ð] below.

[k]

Wise gives a full explanation of the occurrence of [k]:

[k] is spelled as follows:

1. c before a, o, u, or a consonant. Thus, calle ['kale], kaje ['kaje], cosa ['kosa], cuatro ['kwatro], cuita ['kwita], cuenta ['kwenta], clavo ['klaβo].

Note: u is used before e and i to "harden" the c, i.e., to make it [k] rather than [θ] or [s].

2. qu as in que [ke], queso ['keso], quita ['kita].

3. k in loan words, as in kaiser ['kaiser], kilogram [kilo'gram], doktor [dɔk'tɔr]. Strictly speaking, the Spanish alphabet does not contain the letter k.

⁵¹Augusto Malaret, Vocabulario de Puerto Rico (Rev. New York: Las Américas Publishing Co., 1967), p. 51.

⁵²Op. cit., p. 58.

⁵³Op. cit.

⁵⁴Francisco J. Santamaría, Diccionario general de americanismos (México, D.F.: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1942).

4. x (first element) in stilted speech, as in exclamacion [ɛksklama'θjɔn, ɛksklama'sjɔn]. This [k] becomes silent in colloquial Spanish.

[k] in Spanish is unaspirated, even in initial positions.⁵⁵

We should again note Tomás Navarro Tomás' explication of the weakness and softness of such stops. (See [d] above.)

[g]

Wise gives the rules for use of the [g] as follows:

[g] is spelled as follows:

1. g initially in a breath group (the absolute initial position) before a, o, u, or a consonant, as in gallina [ga'liɲa, ga'jiɲa], goma ['goma], Guadalupe [gwaða'lupe, gwaða'lupe], guerra ['gɛɾ:a], guisar [gi'sar], grasa [grasa].

Note: u is used before e and i to "harden" the g, i.e. to make it [g] rather than [x].

2. [g] after n before a, o, u, or a consonant, within a word or by juxtaposition of words, as in tengo [tengo], venga ['benga], con gracias [kɔŋ'grasjas, kɔŋ'grasjas].⁵⁶

Canfield notes an additional use of occlusive [g] in American Spanish.

Dos de los rasgos principales de la pronunciación hispano-americana actual parecen remontar a la época de las conquistas en América y uno de ellos tiene carácter arcaico en el español general. El otro representa andalucismo bien documentado durante el siglo xvi. Se refiere el primero a la articulación oclusiva de la /b/, la /d/ y la /g/ después de /l/, /r/, /s/, /y/ y /u/, y el segundo, a la nivelación de g [s] y g [ʒ] en [s] (salvo en Antioquia, Colombia), con la desfonemización resultante.⁵⁷

That is:

⁵⁵Op. cit., p. 462.

⁵⁶Op. cit., pp. 462-63.

⁵⁷Op. cit., p. 77.

Two of the principal characteristics of current Spanish American pronunciation appear to go back to the epoch of the conquest in America and one has an archaic aspect in general Spanish. The other represents an Andalusian trait well documented in the sixteenth century. The first refers to the occlusive articulation of /b/, /d/ and /g/ after /l/, /r/, /s/, /y/ and /u/, . . .

But on page 78 he makes the exception:

En la region porteña de la Argentina y en el Caribe se nota como variante libre -- no combinatoria -- la asimilación progresiva en [lah'ɔtah] (las botas) y [ráhxuno] (rasguno)³.

³Vidal de Battini, El español de la Argentina, 69; Florez, La pronunciación del español en Bogotá, 191.

That is:

In the Buenos Aires region of Argentina and in the Caribbean one observes as a free variant - not a combining - the progressivie assimilation in [lah'ɔtah] (las botas) and [ráhxuño] (rasguno).

He does not, however, note any tendency toward the occlusive in Puerto Rico although in these two pages (77-78) he mentions seven countries in which it does occur, (i.e. El Salvador, Nicaragua, Honduras, Costa Rica, Columbia, Mexico and Peru). As has already been noted under the occlusives above, Tomás Navarro Tomás reports the reverse phenomenon, as does Canfield. Therefore [β], [ð] and [ɣ] will be used in the corpus, except when the b, d, and g are in the absolutely initial position, or when following [m]; [n]; [ɲ]; respectively. Álvarez Nazario notes a substitution of [r] for [d],⁵⁸ but this is not evident in the corpus, perhaps because he is referring to nineteenth century speech.

⁵⁸Manuel Álvarez Nazario, "Notas sobre el habla del negro en Puerto Rico durante el siglo XIX," Revista del Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña, Vol. II, (1959), pp. 43-48.

[m]

Wise gives adequate rules for the use of [m]:

[m] is spelled as follows:

1. m wherever found, as in madre ['maðre, 'maðre].
2. n by morpho-phonemic alternation before b, v [b~β], p, or m, either within a word or between words. Thus, un bolso [um 'bɔlso], invierno [im'bjaerno], un vaso [um 'baso], un peso [um 'peso], con madre kɔm maðre, kɔm'maðre].⁵⁹

However there is one additional use in Puerto Rican Spanish.

As will be explained below [f] is not used in Puerto Rican Spanish, [ɸ] is used instead. Thus, Wise's explanation that [ɲ] is spelled n before f, as in énfasis [ɛɲfa'sis], un frijol [umɲfri'xɔl] would not follow. These locutions would then be [ɛmɸa'sis] and [umɸri'xɔl].

[n]

Wise gives the following rules for the use of [n]:

[n] is spelled as follows:

1. n initial, as in niffo ['niɲo].
 2. n between vowels or finally when not followed by b, v, p, or m, and not spelled ñ. Thus poner [po'nɛr], con [kɔn].
- [n] in Spanish is dental.⁶⁰

However, we must make note of the Puerto Rican tendency to use [ɲ] rather than [n] in final positions, as will be documented below, and point out that Wise has omitted [g] in his list of sounds which influence the [n] by regressive assimilation. Wise himself mentions this on the same page: "2. [g] after n before a, o, u, or a consonant, within a word or by juxtaposition of words, as in tengo ['tɛŋgo],

⁵⁹Op. cit., p. 463.

⁶⁰Op. cit., p. 463.

venga ['bɛŋga], con gracias [kɔŋ'grasjas, kɔŋ'grasjas]."⁶¹

[ɲ]

Wise states simply:

[ɲ] is spelled ñ, as in mañana [ma'ɲana].

[ɲ] is a palatal nasal (see page 433).⁶²

There are, however, in Puerto Rican Spanish several other situations in which [ɲ] occurs. Navarro Tomás cites the use of ñ:

La ñ, tan escasamente representada en la escala de frecuencia de los fonemas españoles, eleva su proporción en Puerto Rico con las formas populares de tratamiento: ño Pedro, ña María; con las asimiladas ñema, ñamar, y las palatalizadas ñebla, ñeblina, ñeto y ñeta.⁶³

That is:

The ñ, so little represented in the scale of frequency of Spanish phonemes, raises its proportion with the popular forms of treatment, ño Pedro [Don Pedro], ña María [Doña María], with the assimilations ñema [yema], ñamar [llamar], and the palatalized ñebla [niebla], ñeblina [nieblina], ñeto [nieto], ñeta [nieta].

Manuel Álvarez Nazario reports the same phenomenon in his El elemento afronegroide en el español de Puerto Rico and attributes it to the influence of African slaves:

El fenómeno de palatalización de ll, y y n, aunque conocido en la fonética dialectal peninsular en el caso de las formas salmantinas ñugo 'yugo', morceña 'morcella', peñizcar 'pellizcar', argaña 'argaya', etc., se da también en el habla popular de nuestro país y de otras partes de la región del mar Caribe por influjos que no son infundados atribuir al negro. Así, el ejemplo de la forma asimilada ñamar 'llamar', constatada en el habla hispanobozal de Cuba y presente también en canción negroide de Puerto Rico, pudo

⁶¹Op. cit., p. 463.

⁶²Op. cit., p. 463.

⁶³Op. cit., p. 102.

haberse extendido desde el lenguaje de los esclavos a la expresión incluta general, tanto aquí (aparece puesta en labios de un campesino blanco en la comedia El negro bozal, de 1852) como en las otras dos Antillas hispanicas. De igual manera sucedería con la pronunciación ñema 'yema', registrada en la zona del Caribe en el lenguaje popular puertorriqueño, dominicano, venezolano y colombiano.⁶⁴

That is:

The phenomenon of palatalization of the ll, y and n, although known in peninsular dialect phonology in the case of the dialect forms of Salamanca ñugo 'yugo', morceña 'morcella', peñizcar 'pellizcar', argaña 'argaya', etc., is found also in the popular speech of our country and in other parts of the region of the Caribbean Sea through influences not unfoundedly attributed to the Negro. Thus the assimilated form ñamar 'llamar' evidenced in the speech of the Spanish speaking untrained Negro of Cuba is present also in the Negro song of Puerto Rico could have spread from the language of the slaves to general uncultured expression as much here (it appears on the lips of a white farmer in the comedy El negro bozal, of 1852) as in the other Spanish Antilles. The pronunciation ñema 'yema', registered in Puerto Rican, Dominican, Venezuelan and Columbian popular speech.

These occurrences of [ɲ] appear irregularly and will be used in the corpus only when indicated by Marques, e.g. ñama on page 38 of the corpus.

[ɲ]

Wise has only one line concerning this sound:

[ɲ] is spelled n before g or [k], as in tengo ['tengo], cinco ['θiɲko, 'siɲko].⁶⁵

It should be further amplified that this phenomenon of changing to [ɲ] occurs as progressive assimilation between words as well as

⁶⁴Op. cit., p. 142.

⁶⁵Op. cit., p. 463.

within words; con ganas would be [kɔŋ'ganas].

Tomás Navarro Tomás adds a use of [ŋ] especially in Puerto Rican Spanish. He implies a more general application as well:

Nasales Y Nasalización. -- Varias circunstancias subrayan el papel de los sonidos nasales en la pronunciación puertorriqueña. La n velar que en otros países compete con la alveolar en la posición final de grupo, ha ganado en Puerto Rico el dominio de toda la isla. Las personas examinadas dijeron uniformemente la n velar en los vocablos carbón, pan, joven, charlatán y jardín. En general el timbre de tal n resulta por sí mismo relativamente confuso y oscuro. Buena parte de su resonancia se traslada a la vocal de la misma sílaba. La n velar se manifiesta en las personas instruidas con la misma regularidad que entre los campesinos iletrados^{1.66}

¹El ejemplo de Puerto Rico añade un dato más para saber si la n velar forma zonas continuas o se da en puntos aislados, como suponía Lenz, "Bases del desarrollo del Español en America," en El español en Chile, Buenos Aires, 1940, pag. 223.

That is:

Nasals and Nazalization. -- Various circumstances emphasize or underline the role of the nasals in Puerto Rican pronunciation. The velar n [ŋ] which competes with the alveolar [n] in the final position of a group in other countries, has gained the dominant role in all of the island. The people who were examined uniformly used the velar n in the words carbón, pan, joven, charlatán and jardín. In general the timbre of such an n became confused and obscure. A good part of its resonance carried over into the vowel of the syllable. The velar n occurred with the same regularity in educated people as in illiterate country people.

¹The example of Puerto Rico adds one more datum toward knowing if the velar n forms continuous zones or is found in isolated points as Lenz supposed, "Bases del desarrollo del español en America," in El español en Chile, Buenos Aires, 1940, pag. 223.

However, he adds:

⁶⁶Op. cit., p. 101.

La nasalización de la vocal en sílaba trabada por m o n no presenta en el habla de la isla mayor desarrollo que en el español normal. Parece que en Puerto Rico la influencia de las nasales afecta a los sonidos que las siguen más que a los que las preceden.⁶⁷

That is:

The nasalization of the vowel in a syllable ending in m or n does not present a greater development in the speech of the island than it does in normal Spanish. It appears that in Puerto Rico the influence of the nasals affects the sounds which follow more than those that precede the nasal.

Vicente says:

La -n final de palabra es velar en gran parte de América, como la ñ castellana de Θiñko, mangá; es asimismo velar en interior de palabra: cangbiar, inyperdir. Se ha registrado esta ñ velar en Cuba, Puerto Rico, . . .⁶⁸

That is:

The final -n in a word is velar in a great part of America, like the Castilian ñ in Θiñko, mangá; it is likewise velar in the interior of a word cangbiar, inyperdir. It has been registered in Cuba, Puerto Rico, . . .

The examples chosen to show internal change would seem to be highly unlikely. Regressive assimilation would make the sound [m] not [ɲ].

In the corpus [ɲ] will be used for orthographic n where it is followed by g, k, ([g], [ɣ], [x], [k]) and the uvular sound [R]. (See below.)

[1]

Wise gives a relatively simple explanation of the use of l in Spanish.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Op. cit., p. 416.

[ɫ] is spelled l wherever found, as in lágrima ['laɣrima]. [ɫ] is clear except when a context of adjacent back sounds tends to draw the tongue back. Even then, Spanish [ɫ] is clearer, that is, made with tongue farther front, than the corresponding English sound.⁶⁹

The situation in Puerto Rico is vastly more complicated than this. There is a leveling or confusion of [ɫ] and [ɾ] in Puerto Rico. Various writers have attested to this and have postulated origins for it. Canfield shows on map VI a confusion or leveling of the two sounds in Puerto Rico and states on pages 72 and 73:

Otra evolución bastante tardía es la confusión de r y l, también probablemente de origen andaluz y español occidental²⁴. En España se encuentra el fenómeno en Andalucía, Extremadura y León, por una parte, y además en las orillas del río Ebro. En América parece acompañar al tránsito [h]<[x], a la v y a la aspiración de la /s/ final de sílaba, y como todos estos fenómenos, no llegó con las conquistas y por lo tanto no se oye en los lugares inaccesibles de la antigua colonia. Como otros rasgos del castellano americano, parece representar evolución 'costeña' y de origen andaluz posterior a la conquista. Las rutas de la colonización fueron determinantes en estas evoluciones.⁷⁰

²⁴Lapesa, Historia de la lengua, 323; Alonso, Estudios, 268-331.

That is:

Another quite late evolution is the confusion of r and l, also probably of an Andalusian or western Spanish origin. In Spain it is encountered in Andalusia, Extremadura and Leon and in the environs of the Ebro River. In America it seems to accompany the change [h] to [x], the v and the aspiration of final s of a syllable and like these phenomena, it did not arrive with the conquest and thus is not heard in the inaccessible places of the old colonies. Like other characteristics of American Spanish, it appears to represent a coastal evolution and be of an

⁶⁹Op. cit., p. 463.

⁷⁰Op. cit., pp. 72-73.

Andalusian origin posterior to the conquest. The routes of the colonization were the determining factors of these evolutions.

Malaret in the unnumbered pages of his Diccionario de americanismos gives the same origin: "Omitamos, además, la 'd' intervocal . . . cambiamos . . . la 'r' final en 'l' (vel por ver) . . . añejas vicias todos de Andalucía, Extremadura, Salamanca y del mismo Madrid."⁷¹ Or "We omit, moreover, the intervocalic d . . . we change . . . the final r into l (vel for ver) . . . old vices of Andalusia, Estremadura, Salamanca and of Madrid itself."

He also says in his Vocabulario de Puerto Rico: "(XXVII) Es muy corriente todavía la conversión de la r final del infinitivo en l ante la l del pronombre enclítico, lo cual era correcto hasta los siglos XVI y XVII."⁷² Or "(XXVII) The conversion of the final r of the infinitive into l before the enclitic pronoun is very common, and it was considered correct up to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries."

And again on page 43: "(XXVIII) En Andalucía es frecuente el cambio de l final en r: argo, por algo; arsa, por alza; insurto, por insulto. Puerto Rico no puede compararse con Andalucía en esta línea fonética, pero no faltan imitaciones, aún tratándose de otras consonantes."⁷³ Or "(XXVIII) In Andalusia the change of final l to r is frequent: argo, for algo; arsa, for alza; insurto for insulto. Puerto Rico cannot compare with Andalusia in this trait, but imitations

⁷¹Op. cit., introductory unnumbered pages.

⁷²Op. cit., p. 42.

⁷³Op. cit., p. 43.

are not lacking, even in other consonants."

On the other hand, Álvarez Nazario gives quite a different explanation of the phenomena:

253. Las generaciones de negros nacidos en el país, hijos y nietos de bozales, aprendían el español como lengua vernácula y así llegaban a hablarlo de acuerdo con las mismas características generales con que se daba entre los criollos blancos de nivel cultural semejante. Sin embargo, a pesar de producirse dicha expresión dentro de las líneas normales o casi normales de la morfología y sintaxis del español insular, quedaban en la misma otros rasgos de tipo fonético heredados de los bozales, tales como el timbre oscuro de los sonidos vocálicos, nasalización marcada; relajación de las respectivas pronunciaciones de r y l finales de sílaba, intercambiándose una por otra: mujel, pol, mal 'mar', arguno; . . .⁷⁴

That is:

253. The generations of Negroes born in the country, children and grandchildren of the imported and non-Spanish-speaking slaves, learned Spanish as the vernacular and thus arrived at speaking it in accordance with the same general characteristics which were present among the white Creoles of a similar cultural level. Nevertheless, in spite of producing that expression within the normal or nearly normal lines of the syntax and morphology of insular Spanish, there remained in the same other traces of the phonetics inherited from the original slaves, such as the dark timbre of the vowel sounds, marked nasalization, relaxation of the respective sounds of final r and l in syllables, the interchange of one for the other: mujel, pol, mal 'mar', arguno; . . .

Álvarez Nazario seems to imply here that the changes mentioned, plus the loss of final s and the change from alveolar to velar r in Caribbean Spanish and in Southern Spain are also due to the influence of the African.

In any case, the [l] will be used where indicated orthographically by Marqués in the corpus.

⁷⁴Op. cit., pp. 380-81.

Wise included [λ] in his list of phonemes.⁷⁵ Canfield,⁷⁶ Malaret,⁷⁷ Álvarez Nazario,⁷⁸ all deny that this phoneme exists in Puerto Rico, as does Vicente.⁷⁹ Tomás Navarro Tomás states: "La ll, identificada con la y como en todos los países yeistas, presenta los mismos caracteres que esta última."⁸⁰ Or "The ll identified with y as in all countries which use [j] for ll presents the same characteristics as the latter." He does, however, mention a tendency among those trying to be very correct to pronounce ll as [λ] or something between [l] and [j].⁸¹

[j] will be used throughout the corpus for the grapheme ll.

[ř:] (multiple trill)

Wise gives the rules for the use of [ř:] as follows:

1. [ř:] is spelled r initially in a word or after n, l, s. Thus, rosa ['ř:osa], malrotar [malř:o'tar], enrojar [enř:o'xar], desreputación [desř:eputa'θjon, desř:eputa'sjon].

2. rr wherever encountered, as in carro ['kař:o], perro ['peř:o].⁸²

Again, the rr of Puerto Rico is much more complicated. Álvarez

⁷⁵Op. cit., p. 463.

⁷⁶Op. cit., Map V.

⁷⁷Op. cit., unnumbered introductory pages.

⁷⁸Op. cit., p. 45.

⁷⁹Op. cit., p. 76.

⁸⁰Op. cit., p. 99.

⁸¹Op. cit., p. 100.

⁸²Op. cit., p. 463.

Nazario postulates an African source of the "desarrolla teórico de rr velar en lugar de la r pronunciaba el bozal por rr alveolar;"⁸³ or "the theoretical development of the velar rr in place of the r which the slaves used for the alveolar rr," which third generation Negroes and white Creoles use.

Vicente states:

Más curioso es el especial cambio de r en el español de Puerto Rico. En dicha isla, la r múltiple es una r velar, parecida a la francesa (con mucha mayor tendencia a la fricación y al ensordecimiento). Parece que Puerto Rico es el único país de habla española donde la r velar no ocurre como simple defecto o perturbación individual, sino como hábito lingüístico colectivo.⁸⁴

That is:

More curious is the special change of r in the Spanish of Puerto Rico. In said island, the multiple r is a velar r, similar to that of French (with a much greater tendency to friction and surding). It seems that Puerto Rico is the only Spanish-speaking country where the velar r occurs not just as a defect or individual disturbance but as a collective linguistic habit.

Canfield while noting the velar r demurs to some extent:

. . . la pronunciación de la rr muestra notorias diferencias de naturaleza, extensión y aceptación entre sus variantes. La rr velar no se práctica de manera uniforme ni siquiera en Puerto Rico, aunque en efecto se halle extendida por toda la isla. Junto a ella ejerce su prestigio la rr alveolar vibrante, de la cual se sirve asimismo gran parte de la población, sobre todo en los centros urbanos. Producto probable de la convivencia y rivalidad entre ambos tipos es la peculiar variedad de rr, también relativamente frecuente, cuya forma, esencialmente alveolar, mezcla cierto elemento velar en su composición articulatoria.⁸⁵

⁸³Op. cit., p. 381.

⁸⁴Op. cit., p. 415.

⁸⁵Op. cit., p. 13.

or:

. . . the pronunciation of the rr shows well-known differences in nature, extension, and acceptance among its variants. The velar rr is not practiced uniformly even in Puerto Rico, although in effect it is found extended throughout the island. Alongside it the alveolar multiple trill rr exercises its prestige. It is used by a large part of the population, above all in urban centers. Probably a product of the coexistence and rivalry of the two types is the peculiar variety of rr, also relatively frequent, whose essentially alveolar form, mixes a certain velar element in its articulatory composition.

Tomás Navarro Tomás finds not three but eight types of rr in Puerto Rico. These eight, however, can be placed under the three general headings that Canfield uses:

Pronunciación de la "rr". -- Uno de los fonemas que producen mayor perturbación en la pronunciación puertorriqueña es la rr. Las numerosas modalidades que esta consonante presenta por los pueblos de la isla se pueden reducir a tres tipos principales: rr alveolar, rr velar y rr mixta. La rr clara, de articulación apicoalveolar a la manera castellana, con sonido vibrante o fricativo, es el tipo menos frecuente. La rr velar desalta [sic] por su abundancia y por su articulación posterior. Además en el sonido de esta rr se observa una tendencia a la fricación y al ensordecimiento que la diferencia notoriamente de la rr francesa o alemana. Ocurre tal tendencia no solo en sílaba final ante pausa, como efecto de la terminación de la frase, sino en cualquier otra posición. La rr mixta, por su parte, consiste en una articulación que empieza por un elemento fricativo de timbre vacilante, ya alveolar o ya velar, y termina con el sonido de una rr alveolar semivibrante o fricativa. Se obtiene un efecto aproximado anteponiendo a la rr castellana una débil j o una aspiración sonora. Se asemeja también a tal rr mixta al sonido que se oye en castellano en el grupo sr de israelita, desrizar. En diferentes ocasiones la rr mixta apareció con cierto timbre rehilante y con sonoridad reducida o apagada. [Diagrams not reproduced.]⁸⁶

That is:

Pronunciation of the rr. -- One of the phonemes which produces a major disturbance in Puerto Rican pronunciation

⁸⁶Op. cit., pp. 89-90.

is the rr. The numerous modalities that this consonant presents to the peoples of the island can be reduced to three principal types: alveolar rr, velar rr and mixed rr. The clear rr, with apicoalveolar articulation in the Castilian manner, with a vibrant or fricative sound, is the least frequent type. The velar rr stands out by its abundance and by its posterior articulation. Moreover in the sound of this rr, a tendency to friction and surding is observed which differentiates it markedly from the French or German rr [R]. Such tendency occurs not only in a final syllable before a pause, as an effect of the termination of a sentence, but in any other position. The mixed rr, on its part, consists of an articulation which begins with a fricative of vacillating timbre, either alveolar or velar, and ends with the sound of an alveolar semitrilled or fricative rr. What is obtained is an effect approximating placing weak j [x] or a sonant aspiration before a Castilian rr [r̄:]. It is similar also to the mixed rr of the sound heard in Castilian in the group sr in israelita, desrizar. On different occasions the mixed rr appeared with a certain rolled timbre and with its sonority reduced or stopped.

Navarro Tomás gives examples⁸⁷ of the types of rr used in various regions of Puerto Rico. Those for the Northeast, where the first two acts of La carreta are set (Carruzos de Carolina and San Juan), are 1) alveolar rolled fricative 2) mixed trilled sonant, and 3) mixed fricative sonant. These might be represented as [j̄:] , [χ̄:] and [ʁ̄:].

However, he also states that: "La impresión de la rr velar abunda en las calles de San Juan tanto como en las de Caguas, Arecibo y Mayagüez"⁸⁸ or "The impression of the velar rr abounds in the streets of San Juan as much as in those of Caguas, Arecibo, and Mayagüez." Henriques Ureña states in his "Observaciones sobre el

⁸⁷Op. cit., p. 89.

⁸⁸Op. cit., p. 93.

español de America": "En Puerto Rico es muy comun la erre velar como la francesa. . ." ⁸⁹ or "In Puerto Rico the velar rr similar to the French is very common. . ." Also René Marqués informed this writer that the rr in Carolinas is the French r. ⁹⁰

These comments added to the nebulous nature of the "mixed rr" make transcription difficult. This writer feels that the use of the symbol [R] would show that the sound is not the normal [r:] and would not necessarily imply trilling or rolling nor indeed would it show a fricative nature. The International Phonetic Alphabet chart given by Wise ⁹¹ does not show a velar /r/ phoneme of any kind, the back /r/'s are uvular. The closest sounds would [x] or [χ]. These do not describe the sound adequately and are already being used. In the interests of simplicity and clarity [R] will be used in the transcription.

Also, the Wise rules given above show only two possibilities for the use of rr. In addition to the one mentioned there are other environments in which orthographic r may have the effect of rr. Harris gives the following:

2.6.2.1. There follows a description of the distribution of flapped [r] and trilled [R] in careful speech. (I assume that [ʔ] (= [rʔ]) and [s] occur only in casual speech.)

- (a) Both [r] and [R] occur intervocalically, as illustrated by pe[r]lo-pe[R]lo and many other minimal pairs.
- (b) Only [R] occurs word-initially: for example,

⁸⁹Pedro Henriquez Ureña, "Observaciones sobre el español de America," Revista de Filología Española, Vol. VIII, (1921), p. 372.

⁹⁰Conversation March 14, 1971.

⁹¹Op. cit., p. 31.

la ropa is [laRopa], not *[laropa]. The phone [r] is also excluded from the indicated position in compounds such as autorretrato, "self-portrait" (retrato, "portrait"), subrayar, "to underline" (raya, "line"), enrollar, "to roll up" (rollo, "roll").³³

- (c) Only [R] occurs after l, n, and s: al[R]ededor, hon[R]a, is[R]ael.³⁴
- (d) Only [r] occurs after consonants other than l, n, s: b[r]azo, comp[r]la, f[r]lito, lad[r]on, t[r]les, g[r]ito, c[r]lea.
- (e) Only [R] occurs before [+consonantal] segments: a[R]ma, a[R]te, a[R]de, a[R]bol, pe[R]lla.
- (f) In word-final position the distribution of [r] and [R] is determined by the initial segment of the following word: only [r] occurs before a vowel and only [R] occurs before a consonant or liquid. Thus we have, for example, amo[r]eterno, "eternal love," but amo[R]paterno, "paternal love."³⁵ In utterance-final position, only [R] occurs. This [R] devoices slightly if the final syllable is stressed and more so if the final syllable is unstressed.

In short, [r] and [R] contrast only in intervocalic position. In all other positions the distribution is determined by the environment.⁹²

³³It is not clear what boundary is present between prefix and stem in these examples and others. In any event, we are still using # as a cover symbol, and we shall not concern ourselves at this point with the identity of the boundary in such cases.

³⁴The following observations are also pertinent. First, in our dialect alrededor is the only example of lr within a word (disregarding obvious compounds such as malrotar, "to squander") and even this is historically two words--al (itself a contraction of a+el) and rededor (and this by metathesis from derredor, which in turn is also two words, de and redor, roughly). Thus there is no clear example of lr within a morpheme. Second honra, "honor," plus the related honrar, honrado, and a handful of proper names such as Enrique, Manrique exhaust the instances of nr. Finally, as already mentioned, Israel, israelita, etc., are unique with sr. Thus these words are exceptional in the sense that there are very few of them. They are not exceptional, however, in the sense that they would be if there were forms with l[r], n[r], s[r] rather than l[R], n[R], s[R]. There are no such forms.

⁹²Op. cit., pp. 48-49.

³⁵Note the asymmetry in the distribution of [r] and [R] in word-initial and word-final positions. Only [R] occurs word-initially, regardless of the final segment of the previous word--la[R]lopa, sin[R]lopa--but word-finally either [r] or [R] may appear, depending upon the first segment of the following word.

Here [R] may be taken to mean [r̄:]. His final statement means that only in the intervocalic position are the differences phonemic. Otherwise [r̄:] and [r̄] are allophonic.

In Puerto Rican Spanish the effects shown in (c), (e), and (f) above would not occur. If the rr is normally velar, the alveolar position of l, n, and s in (c) above would not have the effect of causing progressive assimilation. Neither would the frontal positions of m, t, d, b, and l in (e) and (f) produce velar [R] by regressive assimilation. However such frontal consonants might cause the mixed and vacillating [R] to become [l], e.g. [ense 'naʃ: mi] becoming [ense^lnal mi] (see p. 17 of La carreta). A velar [R] would very probably have the effect of a velar continuant on [a] making it [ā]. This effect will be used in the transcription.

[r̄]

Wise gives the rule for simple trill [r̄] as follows:

[r̄] is spelled r in all positions not covered by [r̄:] above, i.e., not preceded by l, n, or s, not initial and not doubled.

. . . It is understood that Spanish [r̄] has the tongue-point trill with only infrequent exception, as later indicated under the fricative [ʃ].⁹³

Also he allows for [ʃ] on the same page.

Any Spanish r, but especially the intervocalic and

⁹³Op. cit., p. 464.

final *r*, may weaken to [ɹ] in familiar speech. [ɹ] is a retroflex fricative, much as in English dry [dɹaɪ]. Often it is unvoiced toward the end, as in *ir* [iɹ].⁹⁴

As explained under [l] above, there is a great confusion of the [l] and the [ɹ] in Puerto Rico. Canfield attributed this exchange to the relatively flat and non-occlusive nature of the sounds:

Otro aparente resultado de la articulación relajada plana ha sido la /r/ implosiva ante consonante y final, y la consiguiente confusión con la /l/. Tomás Navarro describe tres articulaciones en el español de Puerto Rico⁴, Luis Florez encuentra lo mismo en las costas de Colombia (Atlántico y Pacífico). En Panamá, Cuba, Santo Domingo y Venezuela resulta cosa común⁵. Aunque en todos estos territorios hay mucha gente de color, sería arriesgado atribuirlo a este hecho o circunstancia, especialmente cuando el mismo caso es tan común en el sur y oeste de España. Es más probable, como ahora sostiene Lapesa⁶, que la confusión se extendió de Andalucía ya después del periodo de cristalización del lenguaje 'tierra adentro' y en México y Lima.⁹⁵

⁴ El español en Puerto Rico, 76-84.

⁵ Robe, The Spanish of Rural Panama, 48-54; Henriquez Ureña, El español en Santo Domingo, 168; Espinosa, La evolución fonética, 16; Alonso, Estudios, 263-331.

⁶ Historia de la lengua, 323; 354.

That is:

Another apparent consequence of the relatively flat articulation has been the non-occlusive /r/ before a consonant and in the final position, and the consequent confusion with the /l/. Tomás Navarro [Tomás] describes three types of articulation in the Spanish of Puerto Rico⁴, Luis Florez encounters the same on the coasts of Columbia (Atlantic and Pacific). In Panama, Cuba, Santo Domingo and Venezuela it is common⁵. Even though in all these territories there are colored people, it would be risky to attribute this fact or circumstance, especially when the same thing is so common in the South and West of Spain. It is more, as Lapesa⁶ now maintains, that the confusion spread itself from Andalusia after the crystalization of the language of the 'interior lands' and in Mexico and Lima.

⁹⁴ Op. cit., p. 464.

⁹⁵ Op. cit., p. 84.

The three articulations promulgated by Tomás Navarro Tomás are [l], [r] and an intermediate.

Igualación de "L" y "R".--La opinión común atribuye de manera general al habla popular de Puerto Rico la igualación de l y r finales de sílaba bajo el sonido predominante de la primera: puelta, cuelpo, talde. Es menos conocida la práctica de aquellos otros puertorriqueños que uniforman las citadas consonantes bajo la forma fonética de la r: farda, sarto, arguno. Otros, por su parte, reducen la pronunciación de r y l a un sonido intermedio que no se deja clasificar bajo ninguno de ambos tipos. A veces, en este tercer caso, la pronunciación parece inclinarse hacia uno de dichos fonemas, sin que al mismo tiempo deje de percibirse la presencia del tipo gemelo.⁹⁶

That is:

Equalization of "L" and "R." -- Common opinion attributes in a general way to the popular speech of Puerto Rico the equalization of l and r final to the syllable with the l being predominant: puelta, cuelpo, talde. Less known is the practice of other Puerto Ricans who equalize the said consonants under the phonetic form r, farda, sarto, arguno. Others reduce the sounds of r l to an intermediate sound which cannot be classified under either type. Sometimes, in this third case, the pronunciation seems to incline toward one of the phonemes, without, at the same time entirely precluding the perception of its twin.

In the face of such confusion of sounds, it would seem appropriate to use the orthographic symbols as a guide to transcription. Thus, the transcription will follow the written dialect of Marqués, rather than any arbitrary rule.

[ɸ]

Wise gives rules for the use of this symbol:

[ɸ] is a voiced bilabial spirant (see page 379). It is spelled as follows:

1. b and v wherever not absolutely initial, and not after m or n; i.e., b between vowels, as in la boca [la

⁹⁶Op. cit., p. 76.

'poka]; between a vowel and a consonant, as in pobre ['popre]; between a consonant and a vowel, as in las bocas [laz 'pokas]; between two consonants el brazo [el 'praso], and final in a word, as in Jacob [xa'kɔβ].

2. p before c or s in rapid speech as in concepcion [kɔnθɛβ θjɔn, kɔnseβ'sjɔn]. b [β] before a voiceless consonant in rapid conversation may become voiceless by assimilation, as in objecion ɔβx k'θjɔn, ɔβx k'sjɔn . [β] is a voiceless bilabial spirant.⁹⁷

These rules would seem to suffice, except that the use of [β] in word-initial positions would seem to depend on the rapidity of speech. Harris⁹⁸ states this also but adds l to the m and n given by Wise in rule 1. above. In the transcription [β] will be used when b and v are not absolutely initial and not preceded by m or n.

[f]

Wise gives the simple rule:

[f] is spelled f wherever encountered, as in facil [fa'Oil, fa'sil] [sic].⁹⁹ [The stress should be on the first syllable.]

However, Tomás Navarro Tomás states very clearly:

El el puertorriqueño de hoy la f que se pronuncia por los pueblos de la isla, casi con caracter de total uniformidad, es la bilabial.¹⁰⁰

That is:

Among Puerto Ricans today the f is pronounced by the people of the island, with an almost totally uniform character, it is bilabial .

And on page 62 of El español en Puerto Rico he says:

⁹⁷Op. cit., p. 464.

⁹⁸Op. cit., p. 38.

⁹⁹Op. cit., p. 464.

¹⁰⁰Op. cit., p. 61.

Una f claramente labiodental, sin participación del elemento bilabial, no fue oída en ninguna ocasión.¹⁰¹

Or:

A clearly labiodental f, without participation of the bilabial element, was not heard on any occasion.

Thus [ɸ] will be used wherever f appears in the corpus.

The [θ] and [ð] of Castilian speech seem not to be used in Puerto Rican Spanish. At least no mention of them is made in the literature used for this study.

[ð]

Wise's rule for use of this symbol is:

As in the instance of Castilian [ð], colonial [ð] occurs wherever the spelling d occurs, except after a pause (the absolute initial position) and after l or n, as in nada ['naða], Trinidad ['triniða].¹⁰²

This rule will suffice for Puerto Rican Spanish, with a notable exception. Intervocalic d and final d are often omitted in Puerto Rico. Malaret in his Vocabulario de Puerto Rico says:

El desvancecimiento de la d intervocal y final (manchao, comía, dormío, heredá, mercé) ocurre en Puerto Rico aún en la conversación descuidada de la gente más instruida.¹⁰³

That is:

Faintness of the intervocalic and final d . . . occurs in Puerto Rico even in the unguarded conversation of the most educated people.

He speaks of faintness in the above statement, but his statement

¹⁰¹Op. cit., p. 62.

¹⁰²Op. cit., p. 465.

¹⁰³Op. cit., p. 51.

No conocemos el vicio español de pronunciar como 'z' la 'd' final (Madriz, verdaz) sino que la omitimos enteramente (Madrí, verdá) omisión ya conocida en España (desde el siglo XIII, García de Diego). En nuestros clásicos ocurría la apocope de la 'd' en el plural del imperativo: "mira, señora"; "anda, señor". Omitimos, además, la 'd' intervocal, sobre todo en sílaba postónica (aguao, queaba):
 . . .¹⁰⁴

That is:

We do not know the Spanish vice of pronouncing the final d as a z (Madriz, verdaz) but omit it entirely (Madrí, verdá) an omission known since the thirteenth century according to García de Diego. In our classic the apocope of the d in the plural imperative occurred: "mira, señora"; "anda, señor". We omit, moreover, the intervocalic d, above all in the postonic position (aguao, queaba): . . .

Vicente¹⁰⁵ also points out the loss of intervocalic d as does

Álvarez Nazario in El elemento afronegroide en el español de Puerto Rico.¹⁰⁶

Speaking of Spanish in general Alarcos Llorach states:

Hay algunos casos en la lengua vulgar en que el representante fonético del fonema es cero. En la lengua corriente, este fenómeno de latencia sucede con el fonema /d/ en la terminación -ado de los participios y en algunas palabras oxítonas con -d final: terminao, usté.¹⁰⁷

That is:

There are some cases in the vulgar language in which the phonetic representation of the phoneme is nil. In the common language this phenomenon of "latency" occurs with the phoneme /d/ in the ending -ado in participles and in some oxytones [words having stress on the final syllable] ending in -d: terminao, usté.

¹⁰⁴Op. cit., unnumbered introductory pages.

¹⁰⁵Op. cit., p. 380.

¹⁰⁶Op. cit., p. 378.

¹⁰⁷Emilio Alarcos Llorach, Fonología española, Biblioteca Románica Hispánica, Vol. III (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, S.A., 1968), p. 185.

No es fácil, sin una comparación metódica de palabras de categorías semejantes, calcular si el desarrollo de la pérdida de la d es en Puerto Rico mayor o menor que en otros países. Parece, en efecto, que formas como loo, lodo; coo, codo; preicar, predicar, y méico, médico, se oyen en Puerto Rico menos que en Andalucía; pero tal vez se da idea más justa del asunto diciendo que el cuidado o proposito de evitar tal pronunciación lo siente el puertorriqueño más que el andaluz.¹[108]

¹Las siguientes frases dan idea de la actitud del campesino puertorriqueño respecto a la supresión de la d: "Decir ehnd (desnudo), es hablar a lo bruto." Caguas. "Gentes demasiao de tolpes disen nu." Vieques. "Los antiguos desian suol; hoy, sudol." La pérdida de dicha consonante parece más avanzada en Puerto Rico que en Santo Domingo, según la impresión de Henríquez Ureña, Santo Domingo, 146.

That is:

It is not easy, without a methodical comparison of words in similar categories, to calculate whether the development of the loss of d is greater or less than in other countries. It appears, in effect, that forms such as loo, lodo; coo, codo; preicar, predicar, and meico, medico, are heard less in Puerto Rico than in Andalusia; but perhaps it would give a more just idea of the subject matter to say that carefulness or the purpose of avoiding such pronunciations are felt more in the Puerto Rican than in the Andalusian.

¹The following sentences give an idea of the attitude of the Puerto Rican peasant in respect to the surpression of the d: "To say ehnu (desnudo), is to speak very coarsely." Caguas. "People who are stupid say nu." Vieques. "The old people used to say suol; today, sudol." The loss of said consonant appears more advanced in Puerto Rico than in Santo Domingo according to the impression of Henríquez Ureña, Santo Domingo, 146.

Suffice it to say that that the phenomenon occurs with frequency in the corpus and is transcribed where it appears. --ado endings with the d omitted are transcribed as separate syllables [a^o] not as the diphthong [ao].

[s]

Wise gives the rules for the use of [s] as:

¹⁰⁸Op. cit., pp. 59-60

[s] is spelled as follows:

1. s, as in cosa ['kosa], adios [að'jɔs, aʃ'jɔs]. Exception: s (irregularly, but the more frequently in Castilian) before a voiced consonant, as in mismo ['mizmo], las bocas [laz 'βokas]. The sound [z] does not occur phonemically in Spanish: here it is an allophone of /s/.

2. x as in extremidad [estremi'dað, estremi'ʃað].

Note: In very careful and emphatic speech this x equals [ks], as in [ekstremi'dað].

3. c before e and i in most colonial speech; as in cinco ['sin̩ko], centavo [sen'taβo].

4. z in most colonial speech, as in voz [βɔs].¹⁰⁹

Tomás Navarro Tomás says the initial s: ". . . se articula en la región dentoalveolar, con el apice de la lengua al nivel de los incisivos superiores y con posición relativamente plana del dorso de ese mismo organo." Or, ". . . is articulated in the dentoalveolar region, with the apex of the tongue at the level of the superior incisors and with a relatively flat position of the dorsal surface of this same organ."¹¹⁰

He also states that the Castilian [θ] is heard in Puerto Rico, but in regions of the South and West.¹¹¹ In the Northeast the sound is the [s] described above. This is the [s] to be used in the transcription, except that Malaret states in the unnumbered pages of the introduction to Diccionario de americanismos: "Tenemos el debilitamiento o pérdida de la 's' y 'z' finales o su parecido con la 'j' (gutural aspirada)."¹¹² Or, "We have the weakening or loss of the final s and z, or its similarity to the j [x] (aspirated guttural).

In his Vocabulario de Puerto Rico he says:

¹⁰⁹Op. cit., p. 465.

¹¹⁰Op. cit., p. 68

¹¹¹Op. cit., p. 69-70

¹¹²Op. Cit., unnumbered introductory pages.

No podremos decir que la g final se pierde del todo, pero se convierte en sonido aspirado casi siempre, sonido parecido al de la j, tanto en la conversación culta como en la popular.¹¹³

That is:

We cannot say the final g is totally lost, but is converted almost always into an aspirated sound, a sound similar to the j, as much in cultured conversation as in popular speech.

Canfield shows in Map IV the complete loss of final g in a syllable and states:

Este rasgo, de naturaleza esporádica e idioléctica, pero muy generalizado en ciertas regiones de América, parece ser también de origen sureño español.¹ Como no hay testimonio de la existencia del fenómeno en la época de las conquistas, y como no es tan común en 'tierras adentro' de América, sino en las costas y regiones accesibles, es de creer que llegó tarde a América de una región de España que sufrió la misma evolución, o sea Andalucía y Extremadura y ciertas regiones al norte La tendencia se extiende hoy (es muy notoria), por Cuba, Puerto Rico, República Dominicana, el Salvador, Nicaragua, Honduras, Panamá, Venezuela, costas de Colombia, Ecuador, México, costa norte del Perú, Chile, la región porteña argentina y buena parte del interior. Según las indicaciones de Amado Alonso y de Lapesa, la pérdida completa parece ser característica de poblaciones negras.¹¹⁴

¹Lapesa, Historia de la lengua, 248; 354-356.

That is:

This trait, of a sporadic and idiolectical nature but very generalized in certain regions of America, appears to be of also southern Spanish origin. So there is no testimony of the existence of the phenomenon in the epoch of the conquests, and as it is not so common in the 'interior' of America, but on the coasts and inaccessible regions, it is believed that it arrived late in America from a region which underwent the same evolution, perhaps Andalusia, Estremadura and certain regions in the North The tendency is spread nowadays (it is well known), to Cuba, Puerto Rico, The Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Honduras, Panama, Venezuela, the coasts of Columbia, Ecuador, Mexico, the north coast of Peru, Chile, the port region of Argentina and a good part of the interior. According to the indications of

¹¹³Op. cit., p. 47.

¹¹⁴Op. cit., p. 83.

of Lapesa^[115] and Amado Alonso^[116] the complete loss seems to be a characteristic of Negro populations.

He adds that such a posit is risky at best.¹¹⁷

Tomás Navarro Tomás states:

"S" final. La s final de sílaba se aspira de manera general en Puerto Rico, como en la mayor parte de Hispanoamérica, en Andalucía y en otras provincias del sur de España. La aspiración ocurre en Puerto Rico en el lenguaje de toda clase de personas y lugares, lo mismo en las tierras altas que en las bajas y de igual modo en los centros importantes de población que en los más retirados barrios rurales. Las personas instruidas dan a la aspiración de la s final de sílaba una forma relativamente regular, dentro de la inconsistencia de este sonido. La pronunciación popular lo somete a todas las transformaciones dadas a conocer en otros estudios de esta especie. Entre los cambios considerados como deformaciones de la ortología normal, la aspiración de la s es tenida en concepto de inferioridad. Personas instruidas que aspiran la s en la conversación ordinaria, la pronuncian con su sonido propio en conferencias y actos académicos.¹¹⁸

That is:

Final "S." The final s of a syllable is generally aspirated in Puerto Rico, as in the greatest part of Spanish America, in Andalusia and in other provinces in the South of Spain. The aspiration occurs in the speech of all classes of people in all locations, the same in the mountains as in the lowlands and in an equal manner in the important centers of population as in the most remote rural villages. Educated people use the aspiration of an s final to a syllable in a relatively regular form, within the inconsistency of the sound. Popular pronunciation submits it to all the transformations brought to light in other studies of this type. Within the changes considered as deformations of normal orthography, the aspiration of the s is taken as being inferior. Educated people who aspirate the s in ordinary conversation pronounce it with its proper sound in lectures and

¹¹⁵Rafael Lapesa, Historia de la lengua española (3rd ed.; Madrid: Escelicer, S.L., 1955), p. 248.

¹¹⁶Amado Alonso, Estudios lingüísticos, Biblioteca Románica Hispánica, Vol. II (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1954), p. 107.

¹¹⁷Op. cit., p. 83.

¹¹⁸Op. cit., p. 71

academic ceremonies.

He also states that: "La articulación de la j en Puerto Rico ofrece hoy el mismo sonido blando y suave de la h aspirada."¹¹⁹ Or "The articulation of the j [x] in Puerto Rico offers nowadays the same bland and soft sound as the aspirated h."

And again on page 74, he states:¹²⁰ "Se juntan en el mismo resultado fonético la j de joven, la h aspirada de hembra y la s aspirada final." Or "The j of joven, the aspirated h of hembra and the final aspirated h come together into the same phonetic result."

As a further note he adds that aspirated s [x] before the surd consonants p, t, k, is surd, but becomes sonant before sonant consonants b, d, g; thus [ɣ].¹²¹

Thus in the transcription where Marqués indicates an aspirated s (h), the symbol [x] will be used before orthographic p, t, k, and [ɣ] will be used before orthographic b, d, g; [β], [ð], [ɣ] ([b], [d], [g] are used only in absolutely initial positions or after [l], [n], [ɲ] in the case of [d] and [g].)

In cases where Marqués has used an orthographic s before such consonants the normal rule for Spanish will be followed; that is, before p, t, k the s remains [s], before b, d, g, it becomes sonant [z]. (See Alonso pages 302 and 303.)¹²²

¹¹⁹Op. cit., p. 65.

¹²⁰Op. cit., p. 74.

¹²¹Op. cit., pp. 71-72.

¹²²Op. cit., pp. 302-303.

Bowen Nicely conflates the rules:

3.41.1 Spanish [s] vs. [z]

Instructions.--Mimic your model's pronunciation of the following pairs of items. Note the voiceless [s] in the first column and the voiced [z] in the second . . .

Spanish speakers from some areas, notably the Caribbean, Coastal areas of northern South and Central America, most of the Andean countries on the Pacific Coast of South America, and the River Plate area, have a different variant of /s/, a light[^h] sound which appears before consonants and, in most of these areas, at the end of any word. All of the items cited in the drill above would have[^h] for [s], since there is a following consonant; [e^hposo], [e^hboso], etc. In all these dialects [s] is retained as the beginning of a word and in the middle of a word before a vowel.¹²³

This voicing is also attested to in Harris.¹²⁴

Exception must be taken to Bowen's use of[^h] for the aspirated /s/. The literature in Spanish clearly states that the sound is guttural, i.e. velar, except that Canfield¹²⁵ states that the j is pronounced pharyngeally in Puerto Rico and other locations. The use of [x] and [χ] would seem to be more useful and would concur with the writing of the larger number of authors including Harris¹²⁶ who describes a dialect located in an area where Canfield posits a pharyngeal sound.

[j]

The rules given by Wise for the use of[j] are:

¹²³J. Donald Bowen and Robert P. Stockwell, Patterns of Spanish Pronunciation (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1960), pp. 68-69.

¹²⁴Op. cit., pp. 44-45;

¹²⁵Op. cit., Map III.

¹²⁶Op. cit.,

[j] is spelled as follows:

1. i as the first element of so-called increasing diphthong, as in piedra [pjeðra, 'pjeðra], pronunciacion [pronunθja'θjoŋ, pronunsja'sjoŋ], hierro ['jer:ɔ].
2. y (conjunction) between consonant and vowel, as in liberdad y humanidad [liβer'ðað jumani'ðað, liβer'ðað jumani'ðað].
3. y initial in a syllable followed by a vowel, as in yo [jo], blanco y hermoso [blan̄ko jer'moso].
4. ll in colonial Spanish, as in calle ['kaje].¹²⁷

These rules agree with the writings of other authorities with the exception that ll may become [ɲ] in Puerto Rican Spanish as is noted under that symbol above, or [ʎ] as will be noted below.

Wise notes [tʃ] as the next symbol and gives the rule for its use:

[tʃ] is spelled ch, as in Chile ['tʃile].

Note: The [ʃ] in this affricate is briefer than in the English [tʃ].¹²⁸

However, there is a difference in the pronunciation of ch in Puerto Rico. Tomás Navarro Tomás writes:

Consonantes Palatales.--Otro rasgo peculiar de la fonética puertorriqueña es el sonido con que se pronuncia la ch en la mayor parte del país. El contacto del dorso de la lengua con el paladar en la ch de Puerto Rico es más amplio que en la ch castellana. El lugar en que se realiza la parte principal de dicho contacto es una porción más interior de la superficie del paladar. El elemento oclusivo ocupa en el conjunto de la articulación un espacio mas largo que el elemento fricativo. El timbre de este segundo elemento corresponde al tipo suave y blando de la y. En algunos casos se oye una verdadera oclusion dorsopalatal.¹²⁹

That is:

Palatal Consonants.--Another peculiarly Puerto Rican phonetic trait is the sound with which the ch is pronounced in the major part of the island including the Northeast. The contact of the dorsal surface of the tongue with the palate in the ch of Puerto Rico is more ample than that in the Castilian ch. The place in

¹²⁷Op. cit., p. 465.

¹²⁸Loc. cit.

¹²⁹Op. cit., p. 95.

which the principal part of said contact occurs is a more interior portion of the palate. The occlusive element occupies a longer space in the contact of the articulation than the fricative element. The timbre of this second element corresponds to soft and bland type of y.

Canfield agrees entirely:

Otro rasgo puertorriqueño, la /č/ como [ty] se ha descubierto también, recientemente, en la costa atlántica de Colombia, y en Santa Cruz, Bolivia; como no tenemos antecedente español -- a no ser que retrocedamos a la remota Edad Media (nocte > noite > [noitje] > noche), esto también puede ser resultado del esfuerzo de africanos por imitar la [č].¹³⁰

That is:

Another Puerto Rican trait, the /č/ as [ty] has been discovered, recently, on the Atlantic coast of Columbia, and in Santa Cruz, Bolivia; as we have no Spanish antecedent--if we do not retrogress to the remote Middle Ages (nocte > noite > [noitje] > noche), this also may be a result of the influence of the Africans in imitating the [č].

Thus, orthographic ch will be represented by [tj] in the transcription of the corpus.

[dʒ]

The symbol [dʒ] is used, according to Wise, as follows:

Note: This sound is not always precisely [dʒ], the voiced analog of [tʃ], but it resembles it very closely. [dʒ] is an alternative for [j], occurring sporadically in both Castilian and colonial speech.

[dʒ] is spelled as follows:

1. y initial in a syllable preceded by l or n, as in el yerro [ɛl 'dʒer:ɔ], con yeso [kɔn 'dʒeso].
2. hi initial in a syllable when preceded by l or n, as in con hielo [kɔn 'dʒelo], el hierro [ɛl 'dʒer:ɔ].
3. y in other contexts in the dialect of some individuals and communities, as in yo [dʒɔ].¹³¹

However Tomás Navarro Tomás states:

¹³⁰Op. cit., p. 92.

¹³¹Op. cit., p. 466.

La palatal sonora y, en su ordinaria forma fricativa, se pronuncia en Puerto Rico con articulación relativamente estrecha, pero con fricación blanda y suave: mayo, saya, tayote, cocuyo. Algunos palatogramas muestran una amplia abertura en la dimensión horizontal del punto de articulación. Aún en estos mismos casos, la abertura de la y, considerada propiamente en su medida vertical, ofrecía notoria estrechez entre el predorso de la lengua y la parte correspondiente del paladar. En muchos casos se observa la tendencia a estrechar la referida abertura hasta alcanzar la forma de la y africada. Tal reforzamiento ocurre sobre todo cuando la y se encuentra en posición acentuada inicial de palabra, aun cuando no se halle al principio de grupo: su yegua, la yema. La africada es, por supuesto, la forma ordinaria en posición inicial absoluta, como se ve en los mapas de yugo, num. 8, y verno num. 17. En Vieques, la y pronunciada en estas palabras tuvo algo del carácter adherente de una d dorsopalatal, como articulación sonora correspondiente a la ch puertorriqueña. Mas frecuentemente se observo en estos mismos casos cierta tendencia al rehilamiento, con marcada repetición de tales ejemplos en lugares de la parte oriental. [Diagram omitted.]¹³²

That is:

The palatal sonant y, in its ordinary fricative form is pronounced in Puerto Rico with a relatively narrow articulation, but with a bland and soft friction: mayo, saya, tayote, cocuyo. Some palatograms show an ample opening in the horizontal dimension of the point of articulation. Even in these same cases, the opening of the y, considered properly in its vertical measure, offers a known narrowness between the predorsal surface of the tongue and the corresponding part of the palate. In many cases there is an observed tendency toward narrowing the opening even arriving at the affricate form of y. Such reinforcement occurs above all when the y is encountered in the initial position of a word, even when it is not found at the beginning of a breath group: su yegua, la yema. The affricate is, of course, the ordinary form in the absolutely initial position, . . . In Vieques, the y pronounced in these words had some of the adherent character of a dorsopalatal d, like a sonant articulation corresponding to the Puerto Rican ch. More frequently there was observed in these same cases a certain tendency toward rolling with marked frequency of these examples in locations in the East.

Thus it would seem proper to use [ʃ] in the above environments.

[x]

Concerning the use of [x] Wise states:

¹³² Op. cit., p. 99.

[x] is spelled as follows:

1. i, as in jota ['xota].
2. g before e and i, as in gente ['xente], gitano [xi'tano].
(Before e and i [x] tends towards [ç], but is never as far front as the corresponding German sound.)

[x] is a voiceless velar spirant (see page 367).¹³³

We must add, for Puerto Rican Spanish, that a final aspirated s (h in the corpus) of a word or syllable before [p], [t], [k] becomes [x]. See [s] above.

[ɣ]

Wise's rules for the use of this symbol are:

[ɣ] is spelled as follows:

1. g before a, o, u when not absolutely initial (initial after a pause) in a word, and not preceded by n, as in pegar [pe'ɣaɾ], hago ['aɣo], agua ['aɣwa].
2. cc (first element), as in lección [leɣ'θjɔn, leɣ'sjɔn].
3. c in the consonant cluster cn, in familiar speech, as in tecnología [teɣnolo'xia].

[ɣ] is a voiced back velar spirant. It is the voiced sound corresponding to the voiceless [x]. (See page 367.)¹³⁴

We must add to this that an aspirated s (h in the corpus) becomes [ɣ] before [β] [ð], and [ɣ], orthographic b, d, and g. See [s] above.

[w]

Wise's rules for the use of [w] are as follows:

[w] is spelled u (or hu, h being silent) immediately before a vowel in the same syllable, as in bueno ['bwenɔ], huevo ['weβɔ], jaguar [xa'ɣwaɾ], perro u oso [peɾ:o wosɔ].

Note: u after q, and u after g before e and i are exceptions and are silent. The u after g before e and i serves to "harden" the g, i.e., to cause it to be pronounced [g], not [x]. Thus, que [ke], qui [ki], guisar [gi'saɾ], guerra [ger:a].¹³⁵

Note that u and o in perro u oso are not in one syllable.

¹³³Op. cit., p. 466.

¹³⁴Ibid.

¹³⁵Ibid.

Navarro Tomás agrees, if only by implication:

La semiconsonante w comunica parte de su redondeamiento labial a la vocal que la sigue. Los ejemplos en que esta influencia se hace mas visible corresponden al diptongo ue: cueva, nuevo. La misma asimilacion o contaminacion se verifica, con variable medida en los diptongos ua, ui, de cuatro, cuarto, guarapo, guajana, cuida, ruido, guiro, pajuil.¹³⁶

That is:

The semiconsonant w communicates part of its labial rounding to the following vowel. The examples in which this influence is made more visible are those which correspond to the diphthong ue we : cueva, nuevo. The same assimilation or contamination is verified, with variable measure in the diphthongs ua, ui, in cuatro, cuarto, guarapo, guajana, cuida, ruido, guiro, pajuil.

These rules than will suffice for the transcription of [w] in the corpus. It is necessary to note that there is no certainty that ao in such words as hinchao, where a d has been lost do indeed come together, there may be plus juncture. To allow for this such words have been transcribed with [ao] rather than the diphthong [ao]. The same rule would apply to other words in which the d is lost, e.g. via < vida ['bija] or ['bia] not [bjɑ] or viua < viuda [biɥuwa] or [bjua] not [bjwa], as has been stated above under diphthongs and triphthongs.

In many cases where the d has been lost and two vowels are orthographically proximal, Marqués has used the accent mark to show that they belong to different syllables and: "A diphthong is always the nucleus of a single syllable. For that reason, two vowels in a sequence which are the nuclei of two successive syllables do not make up a diphthong"¹³⁷

For more detailed analyses of [j] and [w] see: Bowen and Stockwell

¹³⁶Op. cit., p. 54.

¹³⁷Bowen and Stockwell, Op. cit., p. 38.

(1955), Bowen and Stockwell (1956), Harris (pp. 20-37), Saporta and Stockwell, Bowen and Silva Fuenzalida.

The above statement by Bowen and Stockwell would also apply to Wisé's notes on syneresis and synalepha under the heading "Reduction:"

Syneresis: When vowels which belong to different syllables come together within a word they combine as follows:

(a) Two identical vowels form a single vowel.

(b) Two different vowels form a diphthong.

Synalepha: When vowels which belong to different words come together, the effect is the same.¹³⁸

However, in very rapid conversation such a locution as [pɛr:ososo] for perro u oso might occur. Such a rule cannot be posited for a corpus in which no indication of rate is given.

Summary of Consonant Usage

It would be well at this point to try to conflate the above given rules of pronunciation of consonants of Puerto Rican Spanish given above. For this purpose symbols used in the conflation of vowel usage rules will be used here as well. Consonants will be given in the order in which they are listed in Spanish dictionaries.

$$\begin{array}{lcl}
 \begin{array}{l} \text{h} \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{m} \\ \text{\#} \end{array} \right\} \\ / \text{s} \\ / \text{x} \end{array} \right. \end{array} & \begin{array}{l} \longrightarrow \\ \longrightarrow \\ \longrightarrow \end{array} & \begin{array}{l} [\text{h}] \\ | \phi | \\ | \beta | \end{array} \\
 \begin{array}{l} \text{c} \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{u} \\ \text{a} \\ \text{o} \end{array} \right\} \\ / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{i} \\ \text{e} \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right. \end{array} & \begin{array}{l} \longrightarrow \\ \longrightarrow \end{array} & \begin{array}{l} | \text{k} | \\ | \text{s} | \end{array}
 \end{array}$$

¹³⁸Op. cit., pp. 466-467.

<u>c</u>	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} / \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{C} \\ \text{n} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right\}$ (velar continuant)	$\rightarrow [\gamma]$
<u>ch</u>		$\rightarrow [\text{tʃ}]$
<u>d</u>	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} / \left[\begin{array}{c} \# \\ \text{n} \\ \text{l} \end{array} \right] \\ / \text{X} \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \rightarrow [d] \\ \rightarrow [\delta] \end{array} \right\}$
<u>f</u>		$\rightarrow [\phi]$
<u>g</u>	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} / \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \# \\ \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{a} \\ \text{o} \\ \text{u} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right\} \\ / \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \# \\ \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{i} \\ \text{e} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right\} \\ / \text{X} \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \rightarrow [g] \\ \rightarrow [x] \\ \rightarrow [\gamma] \end{array} \right\}$
<u>h</u>	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} / \left[\begin{array}{c} \# \\ + \end{array} \right] \\ / \left[\begin{array}{c} - \\ + \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \rightarrow \phi \\ \rightarrow [x] \end{array} \right\}$
<u>i</u>		$\rightarrow [x]$
<u>k</u> (rare)		$\rightarrow [k]$
<u>l</u>		$\rightarrow [l]$
<u>ll</u>	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} / \# \\ / \text{X} \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \rightarrow [\text{ɬ}] \\ \rightarrow [j] \end{array} \right\}$
<u>m</u>		$\rightarrow [m]$
<u>n</u>	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} / \text{C} \text{ (velar)} \\ / \text{C} \text{ (bilabial)} \\ / \text{X} \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \rightarrow [\text{ŋ}] \\ \rightarrow [m] \\ \rightarrow [n] \end{array} \right\}$
<u>n̂</u>		$\rightarrow [ɲ]$

<u>p</u>	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} / \text{ } \underline{s} \\ / \text{ } x \end{array} \right.$	$\rightarrow \phi$ $\rightarrow [p]$
<u>q</u>		$\rightarrow [k]$
<u>r</u>	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \# \\ + \end{array} \right. \text{ } \underline{\quad} \\ / \text{ } x \end{array} \right.$	$\rightarrow [R]$ $\rightarrow [r]$
<u>rr</u>		$\rightarrow [R]$
<u>s</u>	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} / \text{ } \underline{Cv} \\ / \text{ } x \end{array} \right.$	$\rightarrow [z]$ $\rightarrow [s]$
<u>t</u>		$\rightarrow [t]$
<u>v</u>		$\rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [b] \\ [\beta] \end{array} \right.$ (see rules for <u>b</u> above)
<u>w</u>	(does not occur in corpus)	
<u>x</u>		$\rightarrow [s]$ (see rules for <u>s</u> above)
<u>z</u>	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} / \text{ } \underline{Cv} \\ / \text{ } x \end{array} \right.$	$\rightarrow [z]$ $\rightarrow [s]$

The rules given for both vowels and consonants apply to the transcription of the corpus and are not intended to apply to all possibilities in Puerto Rican Spanish.

NOTES ON THE CORPUS

In the preceding chapters this writer has discussed the phonology, syntax, lexicon, and morphology of the Jíbaro dialect of Puerto Rico. In order to explain more graphically how these features function in the actual speech of the Jíbaro, it is necessary to examine some corpus of that dialect. The play La carreta¹ by René Marqués is written in an approximation of that dialect. He explains in his second footnote to the text:

2. La s esta aquí sustituida por la h debido al hecho que esta letra se aspira en el habla puertorriqueña, especialmente al final de las palabras. Para mas detalles sobre la fonética del habla puertorriqueña vea El español en Puerto Rico de Tomás Navarro --Editorial Universidad de Puerto Rico-- 1948.²

That is:

2. The s is substituted for by the h because of the fact that this letter is aspirated in Puerto Rican speech, especially at the ends of words. For more details on the phonetics of Puerto Rican speech, see El español en Puerto Rico by Tomas Navarro --Editorial Universidad de Puerto Rico-- 1948.

The author mentions here a 1948 edition of this book; however, this writer has used the 1966 edition.³

¹René Marqués, La carreta (Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico: Editorial Cultural, 1963).

²Ibid., p. 5.

³Tomás Navarro Tomás, El español en Puerto Rico (2nd ed. (Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico: Editorial Universitaria. Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1966).

María Theresa Babín in her introduction to La carreta explains the use of dialect in the play and its importance to the theatre:⁴

El autor se vale de vocablos creados en el país; inserta anglicismos y adaptaciones de palabras inglesas usadas por los boricuas en el ambiente neoyorquino, y en este aspecto también logra representar el drama de la lengua como parte esencial de la vida puertorriqueña. La comedia está impresa gráficamente, ya que el autor recurre a la ortografía fonética para retratar el habla puertorriqueña. El propósito ético y estético de no adulterar la palabra y captarla en su realidad escueta tal como se oye, tiene defensores muy ilustres en la literatura de todos los países y caracteriza el estilo de numerosos autores del pasado y del presente. A mi juicio, basta con indicaciones al margen sobre ciertas formas locales de pronunciación para facilitar la representación fiel. Creo, además, que fuera de algunos giros y expresiones regionales con fines humorísticos, sociales o poéticos, en el sentido literario debe prevalecer la escritura normal y correcta de la lengua. La aspiración de ciertos sonidos -- (notablemente la ese (s) final de sílaba) -- o la trasposición de otros -- la ele (l) en lugar de ere (r) --, se reduce en Puerto Rico a un mínimo comprensible para cualquier actor. No hay que restarle universalidad a una obra dramática cuyos méritos la sitúan entre las aportaciones más valiosas a las letras puertorriqueñas. La fidelidad a la esencia del ser puertorriqueño no mengua en nada escribiendo con palabras correintes del buen español en cualquier parte y la obra ganaría lectores además de adquirir una dignidad en el estilo que contribuiría mejor a divulgar el problema tan serio planteado por el poeta dramático en esta pieza.

Por otra parte, la frescura y la agilidad del diálogo tiene tanta gracia que no es posible criticarle al autor cierta prolijidad observada por algunos espectadores que asistieron al estreno de la comedia en Nueva York.

That is:

The author makes use of vocabulary created in the country; he inserts anglicisms and adaptations of English words used by Puerto Ricans in the environment of New York, and in this way succeeds in representing the drama of the language as an essential part of Puerto Rican life. The comedy is printed graphically even to the point that the author resorts to phonetic writing to represent Puerto Rican speech. The ethical and aesthetic proposition of not adulterating the dialogue and capturing it in its plain reality as it is heard has very illustrious defenders in the literature of all countries and characterizes the style of numerous authors of

⁴René Marqués, Op. cit., p. XXV-VI.

the past and present. In my opinion, it is sufficient with indications in the margins over certain local forms of pronunciation to facilitate a faithful representation. I believe, moreover, that outside of certain turns of phrase and regional expressions with humorous purposes or social and poetic purposes in the literary sense must prevail over the normal and correct writing of the language. The aspiration of certain sounds--(the final s of a syllable notably)--or the transposition of others--the l, in place of the r--is reduced to a comprehensible minimum for any actor. It is not necessary to reduce the universality of a dramatic work whose merits place it among the most valuable contributions to Puerto Rican letters. The fidelity to the essence of the Puerto Rican being is not decreased at all by writing with words current in good Spanish anywhere and the work would gain readers, moreover, by acquiring a dignity in the style which would contribute better in promulgating such a serious problem as is posed by the dramatic poet in this piece.

On the other hand, the freshness and agility of the dialogue have such grace that it is not possible to criticize the author for a certain prolixity observed by some spectators who attended the presentation of the comedy in New York.

As will be seen in the corpus material and in the preceding chapters there are certain phonological, morphological, syntactic, and lexical deviations from the standard Spanish that are not mentioned by either Don René Marqués or Doctor Babín.

Some preliminary notes on the cast of characters and their speech patterns would be helpful. At least two of the characters in the play are illiterate and a third is very probably illiterate also. Of the educated people in the play, two probably have some college education and a third probably holds a degree. We are sure of the level of education of only one of those who is not entirely illiterate and he may be functionally so. The remaining characters seem to have some education but the level is doubtful. The cast in order of appearance are as follows:

Chaguito: Fifteen year old male. His actions would give the impression that he is much younger. He has a third grade education

and is probably functionally illiterate. His speech is typically Jíbaro throughout the first two acts, after which he no longer appears. He uses many obscene words and expressions.

Doña Gabriela: Fifty year old mother of Chaguito and Juanita, and foster mother of Luis. She is very simple, very religious, and very philosophical in the face of innumerable difficulties. She is illiterate as is shown by her asking to have a card read to her in the third act. Her speech is rustic and full of homilies. She is a prototype of the Jíbaro.

Perhaps a preliminary note on the speech of the Jíbaro as heard by Marqués would be of some utility at this point. In his introduction to Mariana o el alba⁵ he states:

Todos los personajes hablarán español correcto. Desde luego, los puertorriqueños de clase alta, aunque su pronunciación es impecable, no podrán --ni pretenderán-- disimular su acento, más lánguido o dulce, de criollos antillanos.

Los campesinos blancos (Manolo, Dolores y Santiago) hablarán también correctamente aunque tiendiendo, ocasionalmente, a aspirar un tanto las eses finales. En el caso de Manolo --que tiene parlamentos más extensos que los otros-- puede quizás escapársele, en alguna ocasión, un to por un todo o un na por un nada. También los tres podrían tender, ocasionalmente, a sustituir la e castellana, cuando es final, y en palabras no agudas, por un sonido intermedio entre i y e. Por ejemplo, en boca de Santiago, al decir «madre» sonaría un tanto a «madri». (Aún hoy, campesinos lareños y pepinianos dicen Lari, en vez de Lares.) Aparte de estos pequeños y ocasionales detalles, que pueden ser permisibles, el director evitará, en todo momento, que los actores que interpretan a los tres campesinos blancos hagan una caricaturización del jíbaro o una caracterización de las llamadas «costumbristas»

That is:

⁵René Marqués, Mariana o el alba (San Juan: Editorial Antillana, 1968), p. 24.

The white rural people (Manolo, Dolores and Santiago) will also speak correctly although tending, occasionally, to aspirate a bit the final s's. In the case of Manolo, who has more extensive speeches than the other two, he can allow to escape, now and then, a to for a todo or a na for a nada. Also the three can tend, occasionally, to substitute for the Castilian e, when it is final and not accented, a sound between i and e. For example, in the mouth of Santiago, the word madre would sound a bit like madri. (Even today the country people from Lares . . . say Lari.) Apart from these small and occasional details, which are permissible, the director will avoid, at all times allowing the actors who represent the white rustics to make Jíbaro caricatures of the parts.

Juanita: Nineteen years old and a daughter to Doña Gabriela.

It is she who reads the card, at least in part, to Doña Gabriela. Her education cannot be very advanced, however. Her speech is typically rural in the first act, tends toward a San Juan accent in the second act, and becomes a Puerto Rican mixture of Spanish and English in the third act, which is set in New York. She is a symbol of the Puerto Rican who hates American culture.

Don Chago: Seventy-three year old male. Father of Doña Gabriela and grandfather to Chaguito, Luis, and Juanita. His educational level is never mentioned, but it is probable that he is illiterate. He appears only in the first act, set in Carruzos de Carolina, a rural barrio. He and his speech are archetypes to the Jíbaro.

Luis: Twenty-four year old male; symbol of the Puerto Rican who admires the United States, but unable to become acculturated. He is not well educated, unprepared for any work but physical labor. His speech remains static throughout the play, with the exception of a few hispanicized English words in the third act.

Germana: A minor character whose chief function is the addition of homespun humor. She appears only in the first act. Her speech is

typically Puerto Rican mountain dialect. She is very probably illiterate.

Lito: He is eight or nine years old, but seems to be about seven, according to Marqués. His speech is very similar to Chaguito's, but no indication of his educational level is given. He seems to be going to school sporadically.

Matilde: She is about thirty-five, and a sort of free-lance prostitute. Her speech is similar to Juanita's, but her frankness enlists a more colorful vocabulary.

Doña Isa: She is about forth-four years old and a former school teacher. Marqués calls her bourgeois. Her speech is educated and urban, according to Marqués. However, she aspirates s and drops d frequently. She speaks, except for one line, only to Luis. Since, she is having an affair with him, her speech may be less guarded and careful than would be her custom. She uses the tu form with him.

Paco: About thirty years old. He is a radio announcer with very carefully articulated and corrected speech. His speech is the only one that might be called a sort of standard Spanish (American), if such a term existed. It may be used as a measure for the deviance of the speech of the other characters, although he was born and reared in the mountains of Puerto Rico.

Lidia: She is twenty-six and seems to be Puerto Rican also. She appears only in the third act (New York). Her speech is full of English words. She does not pronounce initial h, nor does Juanita in this act. She and Juanita speak in a similar manner.

Parkington: About forty years old and a North American. He

speaks Spanish fluently, but with a marked North American accent. This is not shown graphically by Marqués, but is noted only as a stage direction. He is a missionary worker for the Church of God.

Juanita's speech changes with the locale. Her speech is rural in the first act. She speaks with a San Juan accent in the second act and in the third act her accent is that of the transplanted Puerto Rican in New York. Doña Gabriela's speech never changes and Luis' does not to any great extent.

These, then, are the characters of the play. Their speech would make them fall into several groups. Don Chago, Doña Gabriela, Germana, Luis and Chaguito have typically Jíbaro speech. Lito and Matilde have the speech patterns of San Juan's lower class; Doña Isa that of San Juan's middle class. Lidia has the speech patterns of the Puerto Rican living in New York, Juanita alternates with the setting. Paco has corrected educated speech. Parkington speaks Spanish with an American accent.

A brief precis of the plot would be in order. Luis has decided that life would be better for the family if they left their small plot of land in the mountains near San Juan. He has taken a job in a factory in the capital and has rented a small house in the slum area of San Juan called La Perla. Don Chago tries to dissuade him from making this move, but Luis feels that the future lies in machines and their products, and San Juan is the center for factories. Don Chago says that he is going to live with his son on a farm, but finally remains to live in a cave. A young man has purchased the property and has asked Juanita to marry him but she decides to move to San Juan

with Luis, Chaguito, and Doña Gabriela. Germana offers her daughter to Luis, but he says he owes so much to Doña Gabriela that he must try to make her life more comfortable. It seems that she has reared him in spite of the fact that he is the bastard son of her late husband. She has tried to keep Luis from discovering this, but he knows. It is never discussed between them.

In the second act, which takes place one year later in San Juan, it is revealed that Luis has not been able to hold a steady job. The family is barely able to eat and pay the rent. Chaguito is constantly truant from school and is finally arrested and sent to jail. He has stolen a wooden Saint Anthony from his mother and sold it to tourists. They give him ten dollars and he runs off with the change. Since he has stolen previously and is on probation, the theft of the money causes his conviction. Juanita has been raped on the beach and with the help of Matilde gets an abortion. Luis has been courting the niece of Doña Isa, but gets drunk one night and has intercourse with Doña Isa. Her husband has offered to pay for plane fare for the family to New York so that Luis will not become too involved with the niece who is his, Don Severo's, mistress. Thus, the family decides to move to New York.

In the third act Juanita has become a part-time call girl in New York. Luis is working in a factory there and has become engaged to a young woman. Their life is not pleasant, but they are no longer impoverished. Doña Gabriela longs to return to Puerto Rico, as does Juanita, who has received a letter from the young man in Carruzos de Carolina saying that he plans to come to New York to be with her. Luis

goes to work on the afternoon shift after insulting Paco, a young radio announcer who wants to marry Juanita. Juanita refuses Paco and sends him away. When news is received that Luis has been killed by the machine he operates, it is decided that Juanita and Doña Gabriela will return to the farm. Juanita will marry the young man who now owns it (Miguel). Chaguito is about to get out of jail and will meet them on the farm and thus will be saved from a life of crime in the city.

The corpus will be transcribed in the International Phonetic Alphabet using the phenomena of American Spanish as delineated by Claude Merton Wise in his Applied Phonetics⁶ except where the author has specifically indicated deviations from standard phonology or where information gleaned from other authors seems to be more germane and acceptable. In those instances where deviations occur, the standard phonological composition of the word will be given immediately below the deviant transcript. Speeches from each of the characters will be included; part of each act.

Typically Puerto Rican words; that is, words not given in the Diccionario de la lengua española⁷ authorized by the Real Academia Española will be asterisked and defined in a glossary immediately following the corpus. Where possible the etymology of the word will be given and sources given for all such information.

In the following text, all stage directions will be omitted so that only the dialogue and the speaker will be shown. Page numbers

⁶Claude Merton Wise, Applied Phonetics (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1957), pp. 454-474.

⁷Diccionario de la lengua española (19th ed., Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1970).

within the text refer to the page numbers in the cited edition of La carreta. Herewith, then, is the material chosen from the text selected for study.

SECTIONS OF LA CARRETA TRANSCRIBED

Luis: ¿De verda?
de petda //
petdaʔ

Doña Gabriela: De mó que mi hermano se noh quería quear con la casa
de mo ke mi eʔmano se nox keʔija kejaʔ konla kasa
moʔoke se nos keʔia kejaʔ

y lah treh cuerda.
i lax tʔex 'kweʔdaʔ
las tʔes 'kweʔdas

Don Chago: Bueno, si pagaba la jipoteka tenía derecho. De verda
bweno / si payaba la xipoteka tenia deʔetʔo de petda
bweno la i poteka tenia deʔetʔo petdaʔ

de verda, no noh ehtaba quitando na. Le ehtaba comprando al nuevo
de petda / no nox ehtaba kitando na // le ehtaba komprando al'nwepo
petdaʔ nos estaba naʔa estaba komprando 'nwepo

dueño. Pero el dueño no quiso vender.
'dweʔo / peʔo el dweʔo no kiso pendeʔ //
'dweʔo peʔo dweʔo

Chaguito: Apuehto a que uhte ehta a favol del Toma sarnoso ese.
a'pwehto a ke uhte ehta a favol del Toma sarnoso ese //
a'pwehto ke uhte ehta a'por Tomas sarnoso ese

Como le va a comer ahora lah habichuelah...
'komo le pa a komel a'ora lax aʔitʔwelaʔ //
'komo komel las aʔitʔwelas

Luis: ... ¡Callate, animal! No sabeh ni lo que diceh.
'kajate / animal // no sapes ni lo ke 'disex //
sapes dises

Chaguito: ... Pégame si te aprevah. Tú no tiés derecho.
peʔame si te aʔrepeʔ // tu no tiés deʔetʔo
te aʔrepeʔ tʔena deʔetʔo

Luis: ¿Qué tú diseñ?
ke tu disex //
dises

Chaguito: No me jagah jablar. Sé muchah qosah.
no me xayah xaplaʔ // se mutjax kosax //
me 'ayah aʔlaʔ mutjax 'kosax //

Luis: ... ¿Qué eh lo que tú sabeh?
 ke ex lo ke tu 'sapeh//
 es ke 'sapes

Chaguito: Que tú no ties derecho en ehta casa...
 ke tu no, 'tjes de'etjo en 'exta 'kasa/
 'tjenes de'etjo en 'esta

Doña Gabriela: ... El no sabe ná. Lo único que sabe eh ser
 el no 'sape ná // lo uniko ke 'sape ex ser
 'sape 'náta ke 'sapes

malcriao y dehconsiderao.
 ,mal'kri'ao i ,deh'kon'si'de'rao
 ,mal'kri'ao ,deh'kon'si'de'rao

Chaguito: No me dé, vieja. Ehtoy ya jarto de que me den. Le digo
 no me de/ ,pja'x// ex'toi ja 'xarto de ke me den // le di'yo
 es'toi ja 'arto de ke me den

que no me dé.
 ke no me de//
 ke

Doña Gabriela: ... ¿Cómo que no te dé? Te doy jahta que te mate,
 'komo ke no te de// te do'i 'xarta ke te 'mate/
 'komo ke te 'asta ke te 'mate

lengüilargo. Soy yo la que ehtoy, jarta. Jarta de tenel un hijo
 ,lengwi'la'yo/ so' jo la ke ex'ta 'xarta// 'xarta de tenel un 'ixo.
 ,lengwi'la'yo ke es'ta 'arta 'arta tenel

como tú.
 'komo tu//
 'komo

...

Luis: Déjelo, mamá. Lo ehta maltratando. No vale la pena.
 'dexelo/ 'mama// lo ex'ta, mal'tra'tando// no, 'pale la 'pena
 esta pale 'pena

Doña Gabriela: Ya lo creo que vale la pena.
 dja lo, 'krejo ke 'pale la 'pena
 dja 'krejo pale 'pena

Juanita: ... Jasía tiempo que se la ehtaba buhcando. ...
 'xasija 'tiempo ke se la ex'taba bu'hkando//
 así a 'tiempo se es'taba bu'hkando

Luis: Mire cómo se ha puehto mamá. Le jase daño.
 'míre kómo se a 'puehto máma // le xase 'daño/
 'míre kómo se 'puehto le 'ase

Doña Gabriela: ... Mah daño me jase un hijo que me avergüenza.
 max 'daño me xase un 'hijo ke me avergüenza
 mas me 'ase 'hijo ke me avergüenza

Chaguito: Sí, ahora resurta que soy yo...
 si / a'ora Resurta ke soy yo
 resulta ke

Don Chago: Callate, muchacho, que te ehtáh buhcando otra mah gorda.
 'Kajate / mutjatjo / ke le ehtax buhcando otra max gorda //
 'Kajate mutjatjo ke le estas buhcando mas

Y no lloreh mah. Loh sombreh lengüeterot* deben por lo menoh
 i no j'orex max // lax sombrex lengüeterot* deben por lo menoh
 j'ores mas los ombres lengüeterot* deben

aprendel a no lloral cuando el vergajo leh cañienta el cuero.
 ap'endel a no j'oral kwando el per'jajo lex kañienta el 'kwero //
 ap'ender j'oral per'jajo lex kañienta 'kwero

Luis: ¿Por qué se alborotan uhtedeh tanto? Otrah veseh Chaguito
 por ke se alborotan uhtedeh tanto // otrah veseh Chaguito
 ke se uhtedeh otras veseh Chaguito

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jase y deshase y nadie se ocupa de enderesalo.
 xase i deshase i nadie se okupa de enderesalo //
 'ase i deshase i nadie se okupa de enderesalo

Don Chago: To' depende del humor en que uno se encuentre, mijo. Y
 to' depende del humor en ke uno se enkwentre // mijo i
 to' depende en ke se enkwentre mijo

ésa, aunque no lo parese, tiene maloh cahcoh. Salio a la difunta...
 esa / aunque no lo parese // tiene maloh kahcoh salio a la difunta
 esa parese tiene malos kahcoh difunta

Doña Gabriela: ... No, vamoh a permiti'le que le falte el rehpeto
 no bamox a permiti'le ke le falte el Respeto
 bamox a 'falte Respeto

a... su abuelo.
 a su abuelo
 a'buelo

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Don Chago: Bueno, bueno... oye, Luis, ¿por qué no jaseh un último
 'bueno/ 'bueno oye/ 'luis/ por 'ke no 'jaseh un 'último
 'bueno 'bueno 'ke no 'aseh 'último

ehfuerso pa salval la finquita?
 'exfuerso pa 'salval la 'finquita
 'esfuerso 'salpar 'finquita

Luis: ¿Un ehfuerso?
 un 'exfuerso//
 'esfuerso

Don Chago: Bueno, un empréhtamo? Toavía eh tiempo. Píe una
 'bueno/ un 'empréhtamo// 'towa'pija ex 'tiempo/ 'pije una
 'bueno 'towa'pija ex 'tiempo 'pije

prórroga.
 'prórroga
 'prórroga

Luis: ¿Y quién va a emprehtarme, chavoh a mí?
 'kjem ba a 'empréhtarme 'tjapox a mí/
 'kjem 'empréhtarme 'tjapos

Don Chago: El banco.
 el 'banco//

Luis: ¿Con qué firma?
 'kon 'ke 'firma//

Don Chago: Con la de Don Tello. Si yo jablo con él... pué ser...
 'kon la 'de 'don 'telo// si 'jo 'jablo 'kon el 'pué ser
 'telo 'jo 'ablo 'pué ser

En otroh tiempoh fuimoh buenoh amigoh... Me debía muchoh favoreh.
 'en 'otroh 'tjempoh 'fuimoh 'buenoh 'amigoh// me 'de'pija 'muchoh 'favoreh
 'en 'otroh 'tjempoh 'fuimoh 'buenoh 'amigoh// me 'de'pija 'muchoh 'favoreh

Juanita: ... ¿Qué tú dise, Luis? ¿Podría ser?
 'ke tu 'dise / 'luis// 'podría ser//
 'dise 'podría

Luis: ... ¿Tu creeh? ... Bueno... Quizá Chaguito tiene razón.
 tu 'krejex// 'bueno kiza 'chaguito 'tiene 'razón//
 'kre'es 'bueno 'chaguito 'tiene 'razón

Luis: Quizá yo no tenga derecho...
 k'isa jo no tenga ðet'etjo/
 tenga ðet'etjo

Doña Gabriela: ... ¡No, dígame eso!
 no ðixax'eso//
 ðixax'eso

Luis: ¿Por qué no? Quizá yo no tenga derecho a cambiarle a ustedeh
 p'or ke no// k'isax jo no tenga ðet'etjo a k'ampja'le a uñt'et'ax
 ke k'isax tenga ðet'etjo k'ampja'les uñt'et'ax

la vía así. Yo soy el único que quiero dirme. Loh demáh no piensan
 la pi'a así// fjo so' el unika ke k'je'ro ðirme// lox ðemah no piensan
 pi'a ðjo k'je'ro ðirme ðemos piensan

como yo. Quizá yo no he sabido luchar. Si consiguiera ese empréh-
 k'omo jo// k'isax jo no e sabido lufja' si k'onsi'je'ra ese empréh-
 k'omo k'isax lufja' ese empréh

tamo...
 tam'o//
 tamo

Doña Gabriela: ... No! Ná de préhtamoh. Noh, vamoh. Hoy noh
 no/ na ðe p'rehtamox// nox bamox// ðe nox
 naha p'rehtamox nox bamox nox

p. 39

vamoh pa, siempre de ehte mardito, barrio. Si loh demáh se quieren
 bamox pa siempre ðe ehte mardito barjo// si lox ðemah se k'je'ren
 bamox s'iempre este mardito barjo lox ðemas k'je'ren

quear que se queen. Yo me voy. Y tú también, Luis.
 ke'je' ke se ke'je' fjo me p'or i tu también/ luis/
 ke'je' ke se ke'je' ðjo me también

Luis: Pero mamá, a uñté nunca le guñtó la idea de irnoh.
 p'ero mama/ a uñte nunka le guñtó la ðeja ðe irnoh
 p'ero uñte justo ðeja irnoh

Doña Gabriela: ¿Quién dijo que no? Nunca dije que no. Y ahora
 k'jen dixo ke no// nunka ðixe ke no/ i a'ora
 k'jen ðixe ke

digo que noh, vamoh. Ahora soy yo la que digo que noh vamoh. Ná de
 ðijo ke nox bamox// a'ora so' jo la ke ðijo ke nox bamox// na ðe
 ke nox bamox ke nox bamox na ðe

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Doña Gabriela: prentamo. No quiero que Luis ehte embrollao toa la
 prentamo// no kiero ke Luis este embrollao toa la
 prentamo kiero ke este embrollao toa

vía. A la larga no podríamos pagar y sería lo mismo. Eh mejor salir
 a la larga no podríamos pagar: sería lo mismo// ex mejor salir
 podríamos pagar mismo es mejor salir

de aquí ahora, cuando Luis es todavía joven y pue luchar en otro lao.
 de aki ahora / Kwando Luis es todavía joven y pue luchar en otro lao

Luis: ...¿De verah, mamá? ¿De verah que uhte ehta contenta con el
 de perax/mamá// de perax ke uhte ehta contenta con el
 perax de perax ke uhte ehta contenta

viaje?
 viaje//
 viaje

Doña Gabriela: Sí, ehtoy contenta. ... Eh mejor así.
 si/ ehta contenta// ex mejor así//
 ehta contenta mejor

Don Chago: Sí, a lo mejor sí.
 si/ a lo mejor si
 mejor

Juanita: Bueno, total, ehto ya lo habíamos desido. Pero por un
 bueno/total/ ehta ya lo apijamos desido// pero por un
 bueno esto apijamos desido pero

momento me hicieron pensar... ... Abuelo, ¿me promete una cosa?
 momento me hicieron pensar// abuelo/ me promete una cosa
 momento abuelo promete

Don Chago: Diga, miya.
 diga/ miya
 miya

Juanita. ¿Me consigue un ruisenol?
 me consigue un ruisenol//
 ruisenol

Don Chago: ... ¿Un ruisenol? ¿Pa que?
 un ruisenol/ pa ke //
 ruisenol pa

Juanita: Pa tenelo en er pueblo.
 pa tshel, en er 'pueblo
 para tenelo en el 'pueblo

Don Chago: ... Ahorita te lo consigo.
 ahorita te lo consigo

Juanita: No, si no digo ahora. Me lo pue' llevá' allá, en una
 no, si no digo ahorita // me lo pue' llevá' aja / en una
 me pue' llevá' en

jaula.
 'xaula

Don Chago: Hum... Un ruiñeñol en jaula...
 um un 'Ruiñeñol en 'xaula
 'ruiñeñol en

Chaguito: ... Ayer maté yo uno de una pedrã.
 ayer maté yo uno de una pedrã //
 ayer pedrã

Juanita: ¡Qué bruto ereh!
 ke 'bruto, ereh //
 eres

Don Chago: Una jaula eh pior que una pedrã. El ruiñeñol eh mu
 una 'xaula ex pior ke 'una pedrã // el 'Ruiñeñol ex mu.
 es peor ke pedrã 'ruiñeñol es mu.

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señol pa vivir encarcelao. Se moriría de rabia. No, miya, no.
 seño pa piñr encarcelao // se moriría de rabia // no / miya / no //
 seño para encarcelao se de 'rabia miya

Deja libreh loh ruiñeñoreh.
 dexa libreh loh 'Ruiñeñoreh
 libreh los 'ruiñeñores

Juanita: Me paese que no voy a acostumbarme. Le tengo mieo al mar.
 me paese ke no voy a acostumbarme // le tengo mieo al mar //
 paese ke le tengo mieo

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Chaguito: ¡Que boba! En el mar el agua eh máh pesá y uno pue' nadar.
 ke 'bopa // en el mar el aywa ex max pesa // uno, pue' nadar
 es mas pesada pwe'ede nadar

mejor que en el río. ... ¡Verdá que sí, Luis?
 mexor ke en el 'Rijo // verdá k sí / luis //
 en río berdað

Luis: Sí, eh verdá. ¡Con el tiempo que jase que no me baño en el
 sí / ex berdað // kon el 'tjempo ke 'xase ke no me baño en el
 es berdað 'tjempo ke 'ase ke me en

río! ¡Ehta' jonda la posa, Chaguito?
 'Rijo // ex'ta 'xonda la 'posa / 'tjajito //
 'Rijo esta 'onda 'tjajito

Chaguito: Na... Llanitita! Ya no pue' uno ni zambullir.
 na // 'ljanitita // 'lja no pue' uno ni zambullir //
 'naða 'djanitita 'dja 'pwe'ete

Doña Gabriela: Eh verdá que de noche la mar mete migo. Cuando
 ex berdað ke 'de' notje la mar 'mete' mijeo // 'kwando
 es berdað ke 'de' notje 'mete' 'mjeðo

murió la madre de mi difunto tuvímoh que dir a la cohta porte. Ella
 murió la madre 'de' mi 'difunto' tuvímoh ke 'dir' a la 'kohta' notje // 'eja
 'de' 'difunto' tuvímoh ke 'ir' a la 'kosta' 'notje

se había díó a vivir allá con una hija. Noh queamoh doh nocheh en
 se 'a'ija' 'dijo' a pipir 'aja' kon una 'ixa // noh ke 'jamoh' 'doh' 'notje' en
 'so nos ke 'jamoh' 'doh' 'notjes' en

Hatillo, en casa de mi cuñá. La mar se la pasó llorando como un
 'tijo / en kasa 'de' mi 'kuña // la mar se la pasó 'jorando' 'komo' un
 en 'kuñaða

niño enfermo. Era un quejío del otro mundo. Ca ves que pienso en
 niño enfermo // era un ke 'tijo' 'del' 'otro' mundo // ka ves ke 'pienso' en
 enfermo ke 'tijo' 'otro' pes ke 'pienso' en

aquellah nocheh tiemblo como vara verde.
 a ke 'jah' 'notje' 'tjemplo' 'komo' para verde
 a ke 'jah' 'notjes' 'tjemplo' 'komo' 'verde

Juanita: ¡Se acordó de la matita de yerba buena?
 se akordo 'de' la 'matita' 'de' 'yerba' buena
 se 'de' 'de' 'yerba' bueno

Doña Gabriela: Sí. Ehta ahí, al lao de esa caja. La tengo sempra
 si// ex'ta a'i / al 'lao de esa 'kaxa / la 'tengo sempra
 'laño de esa 'tengo sempra

en una latita pa llevármela.
 en una latita pa 'lepar'mela
 en pata

Luis: Tó va a salir bien. Ya verán...
 'to pa a salir bien // 'ja p'eñ //
 'todo pa a salir bien 'dza p'eñ

...

German: Buena...
 'buena:
 'buena

Luis: Buena.
 'buena
 'buena

Don Chago: ¡Mía quien ehta aquí, la Germana!
 'mija kjen ex'ta a'ki / la x'e'mana //
 'míra kjen esta

Doña Gabriela: Ooh... ... ¿Cómo ehta tu marío?
 o: 'komo ex'ta tu mar'io //
 'komo esta mar'io

Germana: Ahí, el, probe, sigue ehbaldao. Crei que ya uhtedeh se
 a'i / el 'p'robe si ye 'ex'baldao // kre'i ke ja uxtedeh se
 'probe si ye 'espaldado k'ie'i ke uxtedeh se

habían dío.
 'ap'ijan, dijs
 'iño

Doña Gabriela: Ahorita noh vamoh.
 a 'rita nox 'samox //
 nos 'pamas

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Germana: Ave María, ¡que muchoh paqueteh! ¿Y loh muebleh?
 'ape mar'ia / ke 'mut'ax paketex // 'lox 'mwepleh
 'ape mar'ia / ke 'mut'ax paketex // 'los 'mwepleh

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Luis: Loh llevé ayer.
 lox je'pe aje' /
 lox je'pe aje' /

Germana: ¿No dejan ningún cachivache? Y, eh'ta mesa? Se la van a
 no dexan ningún, Katsjipatsje // i ex'ta 'mesa// se la van a
 ,Katsjipatsje 'esta se

dar a arguien?

dar a arguien
 argien

Chaguito: ... Sí, se la vamoh a regalal al arcalde.
 si se la pamax a Regalal al arcalde //
 se pamox a Regalal al arcalde

Germana: ... Ay, bendito, pero si no silve pa naita. Ehtá jecha
 ai/bendito/ 'pero si no silve pa naita // ex'ta xetja
 ai/bendito 'pero 'stpe para naita esta etja

leña. Yo no la quería ni regalá.
 leña // sjo no la kerija ni Regala //
 leña djo keria regalata

Chaguito: No se apure. Naide se la eh'ta regalando.
 no se apure // naide se la ex'ta Regalando //
 se apure naide se esta regalando

Doña Gabriela: Llévatela si quiereh.
 Ljepatela si 'kjerex //
 djepatela 'kjerex

Germana: ¿De verda? ... Bueno, me la llevaré pa jasele el favol
 de verda // 'bueno / me la jepare pa xasele el favol
 de verda 'bueno me jeparepa asele favol

al nuevo dueño. Así no pasará el trabajo de botala. Ehtá jecha
 al 'nwepo 'dweyo // así no pasará el trabajo de botala // ex'ta xetja
 nwepo 'dweyo de botala esta etja

leña. ... ¿Pueo ayudal en algo? Me guhta ser servicial. Sobre
 leña // 'pweo ayudal en algo // me guhta ser servicial // sobre
 leña 'pweo ayudal en algo me gusta sobre

tó pa gente tan buena como uhtedeh. No saben la pena que me dá que
 to pa gente tan buena como uhtedeh // no saben la pena que me dá que
 'todo para gente 'buena como ustos // saben pena que me dá que

Germana: se vayan. Eh lo que yo le decía a mi marido. Tó loh, díah
 se pajan / ex lo ke jo le dísija a mi maríjo / to loh díjaj
 se pajan es ke jo le deera mac. jo todolos días

no se tién tan buenoh vecinoh. ¿Ese peaso e cuarçón que ehta en el
 no se t'jen Tam buenoh pesinoh // ¿ese pajaso e kwartoy ke ehta en el
 t'jenen buenoh pesinoh ese peaso de kwartoy esta en

cuarto? ¿Lo van a botar?
 kwarto // lo pan a pota //
 potar

Chaguito: Eh la tranca e la ventana.
 ex la tranca e la ventana //
 es de ventana

Germana: Ja. Ventana e probe no necesita tranca. ... ¿Te deh-
 xa // ventana e probe no necesita tranca // te dex
 ventana de porte necesita des

pedihte de Chinta?
 pedihte de Chinta //
 pedihte de Chinta

Luis: No. No la he vihto.
 no // no la e puxto //
 e puxto

Germana: ... Anoche se la pasó jerimiqueando. Pa mí que, esa
 anoche se la pasó xerimikejando pa mí ke esa
 anoche ke esa

condená se ha enamorado de ti. ... ¿Qué, no te guhta?
 condena se a enamorado de ti // ke / no te guhta //
 condena se enamorado de ti gusta

Luis: ... Bueno...
 buenoh //
 bueno

Germana: ... Pueh si te guhta, llévatela. Ni su pae ni yo diba-
 pwex si te guhta / jepatela // ni su pae ni jo díja
 pwes gusta padre pa

moh a dicil ehta boca eh mía. No eh polque sea mía, pero la muçha-
 moh a dísil ehta boca ex mía // no ex polke sea mía / pero la muçha-
 moh a dísil esta es es polke mi xa pero muçha

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cha eh buena y trabajaora. Sapemoh que contigo ehtaría en buenah
 tja ex buena i trabajaora // sapemoh ke contigo ehtaría en buenah
 tja es trabajaora sapemoh ke ehtaría en buenah

Germana: manoh.
 'manox//
 'manos

Doña Gabriela: Mijo no eh de lo que lleva mujereh.
 'mijo no ex de lo ke 'je pa muhereh//
 'mijo es de lo ke muherees

Germana: ¿Qué no? ¿Ehta capao, entonceh?
 ke no// ex ta kapao / entonseh//
 es ta kapao entonse

Doña Gabriela: Oye, lengüilarga, no te prohpaseh. Mijo loh tiene
 'oije / lengwilarja / no te p'xapaseh// 'mijo lox tjene
 'oije lengwilarja te p'pases mijo lo tjene

tan grandeh y tan buenoh como el mejol. Pero cuando quiera mujer.
 tan grandex / tan buenox komo el mejol// pero kundo 'kjerfa' muher
 'grandes' 'buenos' 'komo' mejol 'pero'

será pa casarse.
 sefa pa kasarse//
 para kasarse

Germana: Eso, si se pué gastar el lujo de matrimonio. ... Tú te
 'eso / si se pwe gastar el lujo de matrimonio// tu te
 eso se pwe gastar de matrimonio te

lo pierdeh, sangano. Chinta mejol no pué ehtar. Loh machoh del
 lo 'pjerdex / sangano// tjinta mejol no pwe ehtar lox 'matjox del
 'pjerdes' 'tjinta' mejol pwe ehtar los 'matjox

barrio andan locoh por mija.
 'barjo andan' 'locox pot mija//
 'barjo' 'locox' mija

Don Chago: Si andaran tan locoh Chinta no necesitaría esa propa-
 si andaran tan 'locox tjinta no nesecitarja esa p'pox
 'locox' 'tjinta' neesitarja esa

ganda que tú le jaseh.
 'ganda ke tu le xaseh//
 ke le ases

Luis: No se apure, vieja, que cuando yo quiero jembra la ehcojo yo
 no se apure / 'ajexa/ ke kundo jo 'kjerfo xembra la ehcojo jo
 se apure ke 'kjerfo empra eskajo

Luis: mehmo. Y si cogiera a Chinta no diba a necesital su
 mexmo// i si kaxjeřa a 'tjinta no řipa a necesital su
 mismo kaxjeřa 'tjinta necesital

recomendación.
 Rekomendasjon//
 ř:ekomendasjon

Don Chago: Mu bien dicho. Que la recomendación de la madre de una
 mu. řjen 'dijo// ke la Rekomendasjon de la madre ře una
 mwi řjen 'dijo ke ř:ekomendasjon de ře

mosa eh una trampa que el diablo pone pa que uno caiga en el casa-
 'mosa ex una trampa ke el djablo pone pa ke uno kaiřa en el kasa
 es ke pone para ke en 'kasa

miento.
 'mienta//
 'miento

Germana: ... Bah, el macho siempre cae, con trampa o sin trampa.
 Bax/ el 'matjo 'sjempre kaiř/ kon trampa o sin trampa//
 'matjo 'sjempre kaiř

... ¡Oye, acaban e colar café! ¿Quea arguito?
 'oije / akapan e kolar kafé// 'keja ařyito //
 'oije ře kato 'keja ařyito

Chaguito: Sí, quea la borra.
 si / 'keja la, řora
 'keja řora

Germana: ¿Y er colaor? ¿No te lo vah a lleval? ...
 i er kolaor / no te lo řaxa jeřal //
 el kolaor te řaxa jeřař

Doña Gabriela: Sí, me lo voy a lleval. ... Ve a enjagualo y
 si / me lo řoi a jeřal// be a enřaxwalo //
 me jeřař be enřaxwalo

tráemelo. Que ésa si la dejan, limpia la casa. ...
 'trajemelo / ke ésa si la řexan / limpia la kasa //
 'trajemelo ke ésa

Don Chago: ¿Saben una cosa? Me va a dar pena que uřtedes se vayan...
 'saben una kosa// me řa a řař pena ke uřteřes se řařjan //
 'saben me pena ke uřteřes se řařjan

...

Luis: ¿Por qué no se viene con nosotros?
 por ke no se viene kan nosotros
 ke se viene

Don Chago: ¿Dirme? ...
 dirme //

...

Luis: ¡La carreta! ...
 la kaRe'ta
 ka're'ta

Doña Gabriela: ... ¿Eh la carreta?
 ex la kaRe'ta //
 es ka're'ta

Luis: Sí.
 si //

Don Chago: ¡La carreta! ...
 la kaRe'ta
 ka're'ta

...

Juanita: ... ¿Ya?
 sja
 dja

...

Luis: ... ¡Eje!.. Cico! Ya ehtamoh, lihtoh.
 'exe / 'siko // ja ex'tamox lix'tox //
 'exe es'tamas 'listas

Don Chago: Bueno, bueno, apuren. Hay que cargar, ehtoh cachivacheh.
 'bweno / 'bweno / 'apuren // a: ke ka'rya ex'tox ka'sj'pat'jex //
 'bweno / 'bweno 'apuren a: ka'rya 'estas ka'sj'pat'jes

Doña Gabriela: ¡Ay, bendito! Eh verda. Chaguito, el baul. Trae
 ai / bendito // ex verda //
 ai bendito es verda't t'jajito / el ba'ul // t'ja: t'rae

Doña Gabriela: el baúl. Juanita, mete el colador en esa caja.
 El baúl // xwanita / mete el kolador en 'esa' kaxa //
 mete kolador en 'esa'

Luis: Avancen, avancen.
 apansen / apansen //
 apansen / apansen

...

Doña Gabriela: ¡Cuidao con la matita de yerbabuena que me la van a
 kwi'ao kon la mitita de yerbabuena ke me la pan a
 kwi'ao de yerbabuena ke me

ehcocalat*
 Ex koko'tal //
 es koko'tal

Juanita: ¿Onde ehta' el, llo de mi ropa?
 'onde ehta' el 'llo de mi 'ropa /
 'onde esta 'llo de 'ropa

Chaguito: Yo no lo he tocado.
 'yo no lo e tokao
 dzo e tokado

Juanita: ¡Ay, bendito, no lo encuentro!
 ai / bendito / no lo enkuentro //
 ai bendito enkuentro

Don Chago: Ya Luis se lo llevó, muchacha.
 'ja Luis se lo je'po / mutjatja //
 dza se je'po mutjatja

Chaguito: ... ¡No toqueh esa caja, condená! ¡No la toqueh, que
 no tokex 'esa' kaxa / 'Kandena // no la tokex / ke
 tokes esa 'Kandena tokes ke

eh mía!
 Ex mi'ja //
 es

Juanita: ¡Ave María, me asuhtahte, muchacho! Si eh, tuya, cójela tú.
 aye ma'ri'ja / me asuhtaxte / mutjatja // si ex tuja 'koxela tu //
 ma'ri'ja me asuhtaxte mutjatja es koxela

¡Pero no vuelvah a gritarme así, porque te arranco una oreja!
 'pero no 'swelpax a 'gritarne así / porke te 'arranko una oreja //
 pero 'swelpas 'gritarne 'porke te

Luis: ¿Pero dónde?
 pero a dónde //
 pero a dónde

Juanita: ¡A Niu Yor, al infierno, a cualquier sitio! Ahora, mehma
 a nju jor / al infierno / a kwakjer sitio // a ora mehma
 jork infierno mizmo

Ehtabah pensando en dirte. ¡No me lo niegues! Ehtabah en esa
 etapas pensando en dirte // no me lo niegues // etapas en esa
 etapas pensando en dirte me niegues etapas en esa

ventana mirando el aeroplano que va pal Norte, deseando tener alah
 ventana mirando el aeroplano ke pa pal norte // des jando tener alax
 ventana aeroplano ke para el norte deseando tener alas

pa dirte de ehta tierra.
 pa dirte de ehta tierra //
 para dirte de esta tierra

Luis: ... Pero el hombre no tiene alas.
 pero el hombre no tiene alas //
 pero hombre tiene alas

Juanita: Don Severo dijo que te prehtaba chavoh pa loh pasaje si
 don sepero dijo ke te prehtaba tjapax pa loh pasax si
 sepero ke te prehtaba tjapax para los

te dibah a trabajal al Norte con el hermano del.
 te tjapax a trabajal al norte kon el hermano del //
 tjapax trabajar norte del

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Luis: Sí, pero... no puéo. No quiero debele máh chavoh a Don
 si / pero / no pweo // no kiero debele máh tjapax a don
 pero pweo kiero debele mas tjapax

Severo. No quiero meter a la vieja en máh lioh. Ahora, tengo
 sepero // no kiero meter a la vieja en máh lioh // a ora tengo
 sepero kiero en mas lios Tengo

trabajo aquí. Conseguire otro máh mejor. ... Claro, que alla
 tjapax aki // konseguire otro mas mejor // klaro / ke aja
 otro mas ke

sería máh fácil. Disen que hay mucho trabajo. Que pagan bien.
 seria mas facil // disen ke ai mucho trabajo // ke pagan bien //
 mas facil disen ke ai mucho ke pagan bien

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Luis: Que el pobre eh igual que el rico. ... Será lindo, ¿verdad?
 ke el pobre ex i'gwai ke el 'Riko se'ra lindo/ ¿pe'da'da//
 ke pobre es ke 'riko

Un pañ aonde un hombre puea jaser argo pa dejar de ser pobre...
 um pañ a'onde un 'ombr'e pweja xaser argo pa dexar de se'r pobre
 pa'is 'a'onde 'ombr'e pweja a'be'r algo para de 'pobre

Juanita: Y aonde una mujer puea vivir con el rehpeto de los ombreh.
 i a'onde una mu'jer pweja bi'vir kon el Respeto de los omb'eh//
 'a'onde pweja Respeto los 'ombr'es

Luis: De onde salen lah máquinah der mundo, y el dinero der mundo
 de 'onde salen lah 'makina'x der 'mundo/ i el di'nero der mundo
 'a'onde salen lah 'makina's del di'nero del

y lah cosah buenah que alegran a toh los ombreh der mundo,
 i lah 'kosax pwenax ke alegrana toh los omb'eh der mundo/
 'kosas pwenas ke to'os los omb'res del

Juanita: ... Aonde el aire no ehta susio de ruidoh y de pehteh.
 a'onde el 'aire no ehta 'susio de 'ruidoh y de pehteh/
 'a'onde 'aire es'ta de 'ruidoh y de pehteh

Porque disen que la nieve eh blanca y limpia como el argodon.
 por'ke 'disen ke la 'nieve ex 'blanka i 'limpia 'komo el argodon//
 'por'ke 'disen ke 'nieve es 'blanka i 'komo algo'gon

Luis: Limpia y blanca...
 limpia i 'blanka/

Juanita: Como el pañ de la felicidad de que noh hablaba el abuelo.
 'komo el pañ de la 'feli'si'dad de ke noh a'blaba el a'bwelo
 'komo pa'is de 'feli'si'dad de ke nos a'blaba a'bwelo

cuando eramoh chiquitoh. Será lindo, Luis...
 'kwando 'e'ramox 'tj'ikitox// se'ra lindo/ Luis/
 'e'ramas 'tj'ikitax

Luis: Sí, el pañ de la felicidad ... ¡No! No, Juanita, no pue
 si/ el pañ de la 'feli'si'dad/ no// no/ xwanita/ no pwe
 pa'is felisi'dad pwe're

ser. Un hombre no pue pasarse la vía juyendo. A mah... que a la
 se'r// un 'ombr'e no pue pa'sarse la 'vía xuyendo// a mah/ ke a la
 pwe're pa'sarse 'vía xuyendo mas ke

Luis: vieja no le guhta el frío.
 'vieja no le guhta el frío
 gusta frío

Juanita: ... ¡Qué importa el frío! Vámonos, Luis. Yo no pueó
 ke importa el frío // vámonos / Luis // jo no pueja
 frío pueño

seguir viviendo aquí. ¿Tú no entiendeh? No pueó. ¡No pueo!
 seyr biñendo aki // tu no entiendex // no pueja // no pueja
 biñendo entiendes pueño pueño

Luis: ... Conseguiré un empleo en otra fábrica. También aquí hay
 kaseyre un empleo en otra fábrica // también aki a
 empleos en fábrica también ai

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porvenir. Y tú te casaráh con Miguel.
 porvenir // i tú te kasaráh kom miyel //
 porvenir te

Juanita: ¡No!
 no //

Luis: Claro que sí. Mira, se me orviaba. Ahí Miguel te mandó
 'klaro ke si // mira / se me orviaba // ai miyel te mando
 ke se me orviaba te

éso. Me encontré a Miguel en la plaza el mercao. Ehtaba vendiendo
 eso // me enkontre a miyel en la plaza el merkao // ehtaba vendiendo
 eso me enkontre en el estaba vendiendo

viandah. Me dijo que otro día vendría.
 biñendax // me dijo ke otro día vendría //
 biñendas me ke otro día vendría

Juanita: ¡No! ¡Que no venga!
 no // ke no venga //
 venga

Luis: ¿Y por qué no? ¿Qué te pasa a ti? ... Toma phto.
 i por ke no // ke te pasa a ti // 'toma, exto
 te esto

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...

Juanita: A mí no me pasa ná. Pero no quiero que venga. No quiero
 a mi no me pasa na // però no kjeřo ke βenga // no kjeřo
 me nağa però kjeřa ke βenga kjeřo

eso. No quiero velo.
 'Eso // no kjeřo βelo //
 'eso kjeřo βelo

Voz de Lito: ... ¡Luis! ¡Luis! ¡Se lo llevan preso! ¡Luis!
 lwis // lwis // se lo j'epawt preso // lwis //
 se preso

...

Lito: Luis ven, avansa. Un policía cogió preso a Chaguito.
 lwis βen / apansa // um poliřija k'jjo preso a tja'yito //
 βen poliřia preso tja'yito

...

Dofia Gabriela: ¿Qué tú diseñ?
 ke tu řisēř //
 řises

Luis: ... ¿Pero qué jiso ahora?
 però ke 'xiřo a'ora //
 però ke 'iso

Lito: El policía dise que lo ehtaba buhcando dende jase rato. Que
 el poliřija řise ke lo ehta pa buhcando dende 'xase Rato // ke
 poliřia ke ehta pa buhcando dende ase Rato ke

Chaguito le vendió un santo e palo en dos pesos a unos turihthah.
 tja'yito le βendjo un santo e palo en řos pesos a unos turytax //
 tja'yito le βendjo ře en pesos turistas

Que loh turihthah le dieron un billete e dies pa que lo cambiara y.
 ke lo turytax le řjeron um piyete e řies pa ke lo kampařa //
 ke los turistas le ře řies pa ke

que Chaguito arrancó a correr con el billete y no se presentó máh.
 ke tja'yito aranko a koreř kon el piyete + no se presento máh //
 ke tja'yito aranko koreř piyete i se presento mas

...

Doña Gabriela: ¡El Santito! ¡Tú oyeh, Juanita? ¡Fue él! ¡Fue
 el santito/ tu o'jex/ xwanita// fwe el // fwe
 o'jes fwe fwe

él! ... ¡Chaguito! ¡Chaguito!
 el// t'jajito // t'jajito//
 t'jajito t'jajito

Lito: ¡Tú no vieneh, Juanita? ... Por ahí no, Doña Gabriela.
 tu no, o'jex/ xwanita// por a'i no/ xona xap'jela
 o'jenes

¡Por el callejón del cafetín!
 por el kaje'xon xel kafetin//
 kafetin

...

Matilde: ¡Qué bueno eh llorar solita! ...
 ke, 'gwenex jorax solita//
 'gweno es

Matilde: No te asuhteh. Soy yo. Vine a ver qué eh ese del policía.
 no te asuhtex// soy jo// 'bine a ver ke ex, ese xel, poli'sia/
 te asustes 'bine es ese polisia

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Me dijeron que habían cogio a tu hermano Luis.
 me dixexon ke ap'jan koxjo a tu ermano luis//
 ke ap'jan

Juanita: ... No. Fue a Chaguito.
 no/ fwe a t'jajito//
 fwe t'jajito

Matilde: ¡Ah, fue a ese? Entonseh no hay que llorar, nenita.
 a: fwe a ese // entonseh no ay ke jorax/ nenita
 fwe ese entonseh ay ke nenita

Mientrah no pillen al hombre que trae lah jabichuelah a la casa...
 'mjentrah no'pijen al 'ombré ke traje lah xap'juelax a la kasa/
 'mjentras 'pijen 'ombré ke trae lah ap'itjuelas

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Matilde: ... Qye, ¿y qué eh eso? ... ¡Un carro de bueyeh!
 'qje / i ke ex 'eso // un 'kaRo xe 'βwejex
 'qje ke es 'eso kaRo xe 'βwejes

... No me digah que entoavía te guhtan loh juguete. ¿Quién te lo
 no me 'xiyax ke entoavía te guhtan loh xuyetes // kjen te lo
 me ke entoavía te guhtan loh xuyetes kjen te

trajo? ¿Luis?
 traxo // luis //

Juanita: Bueno, sí. Lo mandó un conosío del barrio.
 'bweno / si // lo mando un 'konosio xe 'βaRjo //
 'bweno 'konosio 'βaRjo

Matilde: ¿Un conosío? Hum, apuehto a que eh más que conosío y a
 un 'konosio // um / apuehto a ke ex mas ke 'konosio i a
 'konosio a pwesto ke es ke 'konosido

que se llama Miguel, ¿no? ... ¡Un carro e bueyeh! ¿Por qué no te
 k s 'jama mi'el // no // un 'kaRo e 'βwejex // por ke no te
 'kaRo xe 'βwejes te

mandó un rasimo de plátanoh?
 mando un 'Rasimo xe 'platanox //
 'Rasimo 'platanos

Juanita: ... Eh igualito que el carro e bueyeh de Cico.
 ex 'i'walito ke el 'kaRo e 'βwejex xe 'siko //
 es ke 'kaRo xe 'βwejes xe

Matilde: ¿Y qué carro eh ese?
 i ke 'kaRo ex 'ese //
 'kaRo es 'ese

Juanita: ... El carro onde salimoh del barrio.
 el 'kaRo 'onde salimox xe 'βaRjo //
 kaRo 'onde salimos 'βaRjo

Matilde: Ah, bueno. Entonseh te manda ehte pa que vuervah al
 a: / 'bweno // Entonseh te manda ehte pa ke 'βweRpa al
 'bweno entonseh te este 'para ke 'βweRpas

barrio lo mehmo que salihite, ¿no?
 'βaRjo lo 'mexmo ke salihite // no //
 'βaRjo 'mizmo ke salihite

Juanita: No te ríah de mí, Matilde.
 no te ríjox ðe mí / matilde //
 rí'as matilde

Matilde: No me río de tí, nenita. Me río de los hombreh que no
 no me ríjo ðe tí / nenita // me ríjo ðe los ðimprex ke no
 ríjo ðe ðimprex ke

saben jablar nunca sino eh en jeringonsa. ¡Mira y que un carro e
 'saben xáplax nuhka sino ex en xeringonsa // mira i ke uy'karo e
 'saben áplax es en ke karo ðe

bueyeh!
 'bwejex //
 'bwe'es

Voz de Hombre: ... ¡Matilde! ¡Matilde!
 matilde // matilde //
 matilde matilde

Juanita: Oye, paese que te ehtán llamando.
 'oje / paese ke te ex'tan j'amando //
 'oje paese ke te es'tan

Voz de Hombre: ¡Matilde!
 matilde //
 matilde p. 84

Juanita: ¿No eh ese tu marío?
 no ex'ese tu maríjo //
 es'ese maríðo

Matilde: ... El mehmo que vílute y calsa. ... ¡Qué tempranito
 El 'mexmo ke 'paxte+ kalsa // ke tempranito
 'mizmo ke 'piste+ tempranito

llega hoy el muy afrentao! ... ¿Qué le pasa? ¿Qué se le ha perdió
 'jexa ði el mwi afrentao // ke le 'pasa // ke se le a perdió
 afrentaðo le se le perdiðo

a mí negro?
 a mí negfo!

Voz de Hombre: ¿Aónde tú ehtah? Vente, que acabo e llegar.
 a'ónde tu ex'tax // pente / ke akago e j'far //
 a'ónde estas pente ðe

Matilde: ... ¡No me diga, mi santo! ¡Conque ya llegó! ¡Ay, qué
no me diga / mi santo // konke ja jeyo / a+ ke
me konke a+

bueno! ... Pueh si ya llegó aguántese, que estoy ocupá.
'bweno // pwex si ja jeyo a / wantese / ke estot okupa //
'bweno pwes a / wantese ke estot okupada

Voz de Hombre: Pero, nena, ven pa que me buhqueh ropa limpia.
'peřo / nena / pen pa ke me buxkex 'ropa limpia
'pero 'nena pen pa+ keme buskes 'ropa

Matilde: ... ¡Ropa limpia, dise! ¡No te digo que jablan en
'Ropa 'limpia / dise // no te digo ke xaplaney
'ropa dise te ke aplaney

jeringonsa? Lo que quiere eh que me vaya a tumbar con él en el
'xeringonsa // lo ke 'kjerẽ ex ke me paia a tumbar konel en el
ke 'kjerẽ es ke me paia en

catre. ¡Lo conosco, como si lo hubiera parío! ... ¡Quédese sucio
'katre // lo konosko komo si lo ujerẽa pařio // 'keřese 'susjo
'komo pařio keřese

otro ratito, mi negro que así me guhta mucho.
'otro Ratito / mi negro / ke así me guhta mucho //
'otro ratito negro ke gusta mucho

Voz de Hombre: Pero, santita mía...
'peřo / santita 'mija /
'pero

Matilde: Aguante lah ganah... de la ropa limpia. ... ¡Déjese
'aywante lax'ganah / de la 'ropa limpia // 'dexese
'aywante las'ganah de 'ropa dexese

de ehtar berreando. No me molehte mah. ... ¡Qué pejiquera, Ave
'ehtar berreando // no me molehte mah // ke pejiquera / ave
ehtar berreando me molehte mas ape

María! El otro borrachón sólo usaba el catre pa vomitar lah tripah.
'maria / El 'otro 'borrachon solo usaba el 'katre pa vomitar lax'tripah //
'maria borrachon solo katre pa+ las'tripas

Ehte se cree que el catre no se jiso na mah que pa aguantar
'ehte se kře ke el 'katre no se xiso na mah ke pa aguantar
este se kře ke katre se iso mas ke pa+

Matilde: revolcone. ¡Jabrá alguno que se le ocurra usar el catre
 REβolkoneβ// Xaβra aβyuno ke se le okura usaβ el, katre
 r'εβolkones aβra aβyuno ke se le okura katre

pa dormir? ¡Con lo bueno que eh dormir tranquilita! ... ¡Se
 pa βormir// Kon lo βweno ke ex βormir tranquilita// se
 para βweno ke es se

cansa una! Lo malo eh que no eh carmentamos. ¡Pero quién se aguanta
 Kansa una// lo malo ex ke no exkarmentamos// peβo kjen se aywanta
 es ke eskarmentamos peβo kjen se

sin marío? ¡Quién, mijita? ... ¡Que te pasa? ¡Te da vergüenza
 sin maríjo// Kjen / mijita// ke te pasa// te da peβywenza
 maríjo Kjen mijita te peβywenza

lo que digo?
 lo ke βiyo//
 ke

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Juanita: ... Matilde, mamá no quiere que yo vuerva por tu casa.
 matilde / mama no kjerε ke jo βweβa por tu kasa//
 matilde kjerε ke βwelβa

Matilde: ... ¡De verda? ¡Pobre vieja! Ehta tan perdía aquí.
 de βerda// pobre βjexa// ex ta tan peβdija aki//
 de βerdaβ pobre esta peβdija

No digo que a la larga no coja el piso. Toah lo cojemoh. Pero a
 no βiyo ke a la larβa no kxa el piso// towax lo koxemoβ// peβo a
 ke toβas koxemos peβo

susañoh la cosa da trabajo. ... Mira ese sillón. ¡A quién se le
 susaβax la kosa βa trabaβo// mirā ese siβon// a kjen se le
 susaβas ese kjen se le

ocurre hoy, día sentarse en un sillón? Esah son cosah de tiempo de
 okure βi βija sentarse en un siβon// esax son kosax de tiempo de
 okure sentarse en esas kosas tiempo de

lah abuelah. La mía, allá en el campo, también tenía un sillón.*
 lax abwelax// la miβa / aja en el kompo / tambjen tenía un siβon//
 abwelax en tambjen tenía

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Matilde: ¿Y me quieréh creer que se pasaba tó el santo día de
 i me 'kjerex kjerex ke se pasaba to el santo 'dija de
 me kjerex kjerex ke se todo 'dija de

Dióh mesiéndose? De atráh palante. Y de alante patrah. ¡Imagínate
 'dijox mesiéndose// 'dijox palante// i 'de alante patrah// imagináte
 'dijox mesiéndose atrás para adelante 'de adelante para atrás imagináte

eso! Moviéndose, sin moverse. Moviéndose, pero sin llegar a
 'eso// moviéndose/ sin moverse/ moviéndose/ 'pero sin llegar a
 'eso moviéndose moverse moviéndose 'pero llegar

ninguna parte. ¡Queándose en el, mehmo sitio! Como una pisi-corre
 ninguna 'parte// 'queándose en el, mehmo sitio// 'komo una pisi'kore
 'queándose en mismo 'komo 'pisi'kore

que no, corre. Como una guagua que no, sale de la para. ¡Qué, cosah!
 ke no, 'kore// 'komo una guagua ke no, 'sale de la para// 'ke, 'kosah
 ke 'kore 'komo 'sale de para 'kosas

¡Cuidao que la gente de enante era, bruta!
 'kwi'dao ke la xente de enante, era 'bruta//
 'kwi'dao ke la xente de enante era

Juanita: Mamá no tie' na' de bruta, ¿sabeh?
 'mama no, 'tije na' de 'bruta/ 'sabex//
 'tjene 'nada 'sapes

Matilde: ¡Bueno, ehá bien. No lo digo por ella. Pero loh tiempoh
 'bweno/ 'ehá bien// no lo 'dijo por 'ella// 'pero loh 'tiempoh
 'bweno está bien

cambean. Que pa algo vinieron loh americanoh a modernisarnoh.
 'kampejan// ke pa 'algo vinieron loh 'amerikanoh a 'modernisarnoh/
 ke para los 'americanos 'modernisarnos

Sí, mijita, sí. Tú te cogeh a un americano, y no te mueve una uña
 si/ 'mijita/ si/ tu te 'koxex a un 'amerikanoh no te 'mueve una 'uña
 'mijita 'koxex te 'mueve

sino eh pa conseguir algo que se, vea y, que se, toque. Dile tú a
 'sino eh pa 'conseguir 'algo ke se, 'vea i ke se, 'toque// 'dile tu a
 es para algo ke se para ke se tote 'dile

un americano que pierda su tiempo mesiéndose en un sillón. Díselo y
 un 'amerikanoh ke 'pierda su 'tiempo mesiéndose en un 'sillon// 'díselo y
 ke 'tiempo mesiéndose en

Matilde: verah como te manda pa la mierda. Claro, te mandara en
 βεραx 'komo te manda pa la mjeɽda // 'klaɾo / te mandara en
 peɽas 'komo te paɾa te

inglêh. Pero te manda. ... El año pasao me lié con un americano
 inglɛx // 'peɾo te manda // el aɲo pasao me lije kon un amɛɾikano
 inglɛs 'peɾo te pasaɽome lie

y aprendí mucho, nenita, mucho.
 i apɾendi 'mutʃo / nenita / 'mutʃo //
 apɾendi 'mutʃo nenita 'mutʃo

Juanita: ... ¿Aprendihte inglêh? ¿Eh difícil?
 apɾendixte inglɛx // eɲ ʒiɸisiɪ //
 apɾendiste inglɛs es ʒiɸisiɪ

Matilde: ¡Nooo! Inglés sabía yo ya. Aprendí otrah cosah...
 no: inglɛ saβija jo ja // apɾendi oɽɾax 'kosax /
 inglɛs apɾendi oɽɾas 'kosas

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Juanita: Y oye, Matilde, tú que conosihte a... ese americano...
 i oje / maɽilde / tu ke konosixte a / 'ese amɛɾikano /
 maɽilde ke konosiste ese

Matilde: , Bueno, a ese sólo no, sabeh? No sé por qué pero anteh
 bweno / a 'ese solo no / 'saβex / nose poɾ ke 'peɾo antɛx
 bweno ese solo saβes 'peɾo antɛx

de yo sentar cabeza tenía la mar de suerte con esoh yanquih.
 ɽe jo sentaɾ kaβesa tenija la maɽde 'swɛɽte kon 'esox 'janɸiɪ //
 ɽe sentaɾ kaβesa tenija malde swɛɽte 'esox 'janɸis

Juanita: ¿De verja? Y por qué sería?
 de βeɽɽa // i poɾ ke seɽija //
 de βeɽɽa

Matilde: ... Pueh... a lo mejor sería por la diferencia que hay
 pwɛx a lo meɽor seɽija poɾ la ɽiɸeɽɛnsja ke aɽ
 pwɛs seɽija ɽiɸeɽɛnsja ke aɽ

entre lo que Dióh me dió a mí y lo que le dio a esoh bacalaoh que
 'entɛ lo ke ɽjoɽ me ɽjoɽami i lo ke le ɽijo a 'esox βakalaɽ ke
 'entɛ ke ɽjos me ke le esox βakalaɽ ke

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Matilde: tién loh pobreh por mujereh.
 t'jen lɔx pɔpɔɔɔɔx pɔɔ mʊxɔɔɔɔx//
 t'jenen lɔs pɔpɔɔɔɔs mʊxɔɔɔɔs

Juanita: ¿Pero cómo son, Matilde? ¿Cómo son los americanoh?
 pɛɔɔ kɔmɔ sɔn /matilde// kɔmɔ sɔn lɔs ɔ,meri'kanɔx//
 pɛɔ kɔmɔ matilde kɔmɔ ɔ,meri'kanɔs

Matilde: ... Ay, mija, en el catre son tan puercoh, como cualquier
 ɔ /'mɪxɔ/ en el 'katɛ sɔn tɔm pʊɛɔkɔx kɔmɔ kʊɔɔk'jɛɔ
 ɔ mɪxɔ en 'katɛ pʊɛɔkɔs kɔmɔ

otro. ... ¿Qué se le va a jaser! Yo ya ehtoy convenσία de una
 'otɔɔ// kɛ sɛ lɛ pɔ ɔ xɔsɛɔ// jɔ jɔ ɛɔɔɔ kɔmbɛnsɪjɔ ɔɛ'una
 'otɔ sɛ lɛ ɔ ɔsɛɔ ɛɔɔɔ kɔmbɛnsɪjɔ

cosa, nenita. Tó los hombreh son iguales. ... Y he oído decir
 'kɔsɔ/ nɛnɪtɔ// tɔ lɔs 'ɔmbɔɔɔ sɔn i'ɔwɔlɛs// i ɛ ɔwɪɔɔ ɔɛɔɔɔ
 nɛnɪtɔ 'tɔɔɔ 'ɔmbɔɔɔ i'ɔwɔlɛs e ɔwɪɔɔ ɔɛɔɔɔ

por la radio que ésa fue la mejor ocurrencia que tuvo Dióh: jaser
 pɔɔ lɔ Rɔɔjɔ kɛ ɛsɔ pʊɛ lɔ mɛxɔɔ ɔkʊɔɔɔɔɔjɔ kɛ tʊpɔ ɔjɔx// xɔsɛɔ
 lɔ 'ɔ:ɔjɔ kɛ ɛsɔ tʊɛ ɔkʊɔɔɔɔjɔ kɛ ɔjɔs

a tóh losombreh iguales; y que porque eso eh democrático. Pueh yo
 ɔ tɔx lɔɔɔmbɔɔɔ i'ɔwɔlɛs/ i kɛ pɔɔkɛ ɛsɔ ɛx ɔɛmɔkɔɔɔtɪkɔ// pʊɛx jɔ
 tɔs lɔs 'ɔmbɔɔɔ i'ɔwɔlɛs kɛ pɔɔkɛ ɛsɔ ɛs ɔɛmɔkɔɔɔtɪkɔ pʊɛs

digo que esa fue la primera metía e pata de Papá Dióh. ¿Porque
 ɔjɔ kɛ ɛsɔ pʊɛ lɔ pɔɔɔɔɔɔɔ mɛtɪjɔ ɛ pɔtɔ ɔɛ pɔpɔ ɔjɔx// 'pɔɔkɛ
 kɛ ɛsɔ tʊɛ mɛtɪjɔ ɔɛ ɔɛ ɔjɔs 'pɔɔkɛ

cuidao que éso eh tremendo! Saber que tóh son igualeh. ... Y
 kʊɪɔɔɔ kɛ ɛsɔ ɛx tɔɔɔɔɔɔɔ// sɔpɛɔ kɛ tɔx sɔn i'ɔwɔlɛx// i
 kʊɪɔɔɔ kɛ ɛsɔ ɛs tɔɔɔɔɔɔɔ kɛ tɔɔɔs i'ɔwɔlɛs

cuando una se convense de eso le entra a una el aburrimiento. Ya
 'kʊɔɔɔɔ ɔnɔ sɛ kɔmbɛnsɛ ɔɛ ɛsɔ lɛ ɛnɔɔɔ ɔ ɔnɔ ɛl ɔpʊɔɔɔɔɔɔɔ// jɔ
 sɛ kɔmbɛnsɛ ɔɛ ɛsɔ lɛ ɛnɔɔɔ ɔpʊɔɔɔɔɔɔɔ

no hay ehperansah de encontrar a un hombre diferente, a su hombre.
 nɔ ɔl ɛxpɛɔɔɔɔɔɔ ɔɛ ɛnɔkɔnɔɔɔɔɔ ɔ ɔn 'ɔmbɔɔɔ ɔɔɔɔɔɔɔɔɔ/ ɔ sʊ 'ɔmbɔɔɔ//
 ɔl ɛspɛɔɔɔɔɔɔ ɔɛ ɛnɔkɔnɔɔɔɔɔ 'ɔmbɔɔɔ ɔɔɔɔɔɔɔɔɔ

Ya una sabe que sólo hay... hombreh, muchosombreh, tóh lo mehmo,
 jɔ ɔnɔ sɔpɛ kɛ sɔlɔ ɔl/ 'ɔmbɔɔɔ /mʊɔjɔs 'ɔmbɔɔɔ/ tɔx lɔ mɛxɔɔ/
 sɔpɛ kɛ sɔlɔ ɔl 'ɔmbɔɔɔ mʊɔjɔs 'ɔmbɔɔɔ tɔs mɛxɔɔ

Juanita: Lo que yo quería saber eh si eran buenoh... si eran
 lo ke jo k'ejja saβer ex si 'efan buenax / si 'efan
 k'ejja 'buenas

mejoreh... Si eran... mah considerao...
 meχoβex / si 'efan / max kon,siβerao /
 mas kon,siβerao

Matilde: Pero mijita si eso mehmite te lo acabo de contehtar!
 'pefo mizita si 'eso mehmite te lo akapo βe,kontextaβ//
 'pefo mizita eso mizmite te βe,kontestaβ

¿O eh que quiereh que empiese otra ves?
 o ex ke 'k'ejex ke empjese 'otra βes//
 es ke 'k'ejex ke empjese βes

Juanita: ... ¡No!
 no//

Matilde: Bueno, de toh moh, yo no vine aqui a jablar de hombreh,
 'βwenβ/ βe tox mox/ jo no βine a ki a xablaβ βe 'ombβex/
 'βwenβ βe toβas moβas 'βine a aβlaβ βe ombβes

sino de ti.
 'sino β ti//

Juanita: ... Tú dihte que habíah venio a saber a quien se
 tu βixite ke aβiaβ βehio a saβer a kjen se
 βixiste aβias βehio kjen se

habían llevao preso.
 aβijan βeβao 'pβeso //
 βeβao pβeso

Matilde: Sí, pero eso se dise por cortesía. A mí me importa un
 si / 'pefo 'eso se 'dise por,kortesija // a mi me importa un
 'pefo 'eso se 'dise kortesia me

pito que se lleven preso a un títere como Chaguito. Lo que de verda
 pito ke se βeβen pβeso a un 'títere 'komo βjaguito // lo ke βe βeβda
 ke se βeβen pβeso 'títere 'komo βjaguito ke βe βeβdaβ

me importa eh tu asunto.
 me importa ex tu asunto //
 me es

Juanita: ... ¿Mi asunto?
mi asunto

Matilde: ¡Pueh, claro! Ereh mi amiga y quiero ayudarte. Mira te
pwex / klaro // 'erex mi aliya i 'kjerō ajujarte // 'nafa te
pwes 'erex 'kjerō ajujarte

tenía que decir que ja jable con Doña Celinda. Ehta to arreglao.
tēni'a ke dēsīl ke ja xāple kon dona selinda // Ehta to arreglao //
tēni'a ke dēsīl ke ja aple selinda esta todo arreglado

Ehta mehma tarde vah a dir a su casa.
Ehta 'mexma tarde pax a dīr a su kasa //
'esta 'mizma pas ir

Juanita: ... ¿Ehta tarde? ... ¡No!
Ehta tarde // no //
esta

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Matilde: ¿Qué eh, eso, mijita? ¡Claro que sí. Ahora mehmo. Si
ke ex.ESO / mīxita // klaro ke si // a'ora 'mexmo // si
es eso mīxita ke 'mizmo

ayer qu'amoh en eso. Si tú mehma ehtabah conforme.
ajēr ke jamōx en 'ESO // si tu 'mexma extapax komfōrme //
ajēr ke dāmas en 'eso 'mizma estapas komfōrme

Juanita: No, no puéo.
no / no 'pwejo //
pweō

Matilde: Sí puéh. ... Si no jaseh, ehto, ¿qué vah a jaser, ah?
si pwex // si no xaseh exto // ke pax a xaser / a.
pwes no 'ases esto pas a aser

Juanita: No sé. No sé qué jaser. Me voy a vorvel loca.
no se // no se kē xaser // me bot a botar 'loka //
ke aser me botar

Matilde: ¡Qué ehperansa! Sería formidable volverse loca cuando
ke expe'ansa // se'rija formidable bolverse 'loka k wando
es pe'ansa sería formidable bolverse

p. 89

Matilde: una, quiere. Pero no, nenita, al manicomio sólo van los
 una, kje'e'e // 'pe'ɔ no/ nenita / al mani'komio solo van los
 kje'e'e 'pe'ɔ nenita mani'kow'jo solo los

que no querían volverse locos. Vamoh. Vamoh.
 ke no k'e'ɾi jam ɔɔ'p'e'ɾse 'lo kɔɔ // 'ɔamɔɔ // 'ɔamɔɔ
 ke k'e'ɾi jam ɔɔ'p'e'ɾse 'lo kɔɔ 'ɔamɔɔ 'ɔamɔɔ

Juanita: ... ¡No!
 no //

Matilde: ¡Entonseh, le vah a decil a Miguel lo que pasa?
 entonseɔ / le ɔax a ɔesil a mi'ɣel lo ke ɔasa?
 entonseɔ le ɔax a ɔesil ke

Juanita: No, no. Me moriría de vergüenza.
 no / no // me mo'ɾi'ɾia ɔe ɔe'ɾɣwen'sa //
 me mo'ɾi'ɾia ɔe ɔe'ɾɣwen'sa

Matilde: Bah, de eso no se muere naiden. ¡Y qué? ¡Te vah a
 ɔax / ɔe'eso no se mu'e'ɾe naiden // i ke // te ɔax a
 ɔe'eso se mu'e'ɾe na'ɔje Te ɔasa

casar con él sin desile ná?
 kasar kon el sin ɔesile na //
 ɔesile

Juanita: No. Yo no haría eso.
 no / jo no xa'ɾia eso //
 no a'ɾia eso

Matilde: Y qué tu harías, vamoh a ver.
 i ke tu a'ɾiaɔ / ɔamɔɔ a ɔe'ɾ //
 a'ɾias ɔamɔɔ

Juanita: Eh que no quieo que naiden lo sepa. ¡Ay, bendito, mamá!
 ex ke no 'kjeɔ ke naiden lo sepa // aɾ / bendito / ma'ma //
 e ke 'kje'ɾo ke na'ɔje aɾ bendito

Mamá que eh tan limpia, tan limpia por dentro. Se moriría de pena.
 ma'ma ke ex tan limpia / tan limpia ɔɔ'ɔentro // se mo'ɾi'ɾia ɔe'pena //
 ke es ɔentro se mo'ɾi'ɾia ɔe

¡Matilde, ayúame!
 ma'tilde / aɾjuwame //
 ma'tilde aɾjuwame

Matilde: ... ¿Y cómo quieroh que te ayúe si no te de jah ayuar?
 i 'komo 'kjerex ke te ajuwesi no te dexax ajuwat//
 'komo 'kjerex ke te ajuwe te dexax ajuwat

¿Qué eh eso de vorverse loca? ¿Qué eh eso de morirse? ¿Qué eh eso
 ke ex'eso de bofperse loka// ke ex'eso de morirse// ke ex'eso
 es'eso de bofperse es'eso de morirse es'eso

de vergüensa? ¿Onde tú viveh, nenita? ¿Te creeh que ereh la
 de perxwensa// onde tu'piper/ nenita// te krejex ke ereh la
 de perxwensa onde piper nenita 'krejex ke eres

primera que le pasa? Y total, ¿qué ha pasao? ¿Que un día te queáh
 pñimeña ke le pasa// i total/ ke a pasao// ke un día te kejax
 pñimeña ke le ke pasao ke día te kejas

a comer dehpueh del trabajo en casa, una amiga? ¿Que llegah a la
 a komeñ dehpueh del traxo en casa una amiga// ke jeyax a la
 dehpueh ke jeyas

Perla de noche y que en un callejón oscuro un hijo e puta se te
 'perla de noche ke en un kajexon oskuro un ixo e puta se te
 'notjet ke en de se te

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echa ensima y jase en la arena contigo lo que otroh, jasen en el
 etja ensima i xase en la arena kontigo lo ke otroh xasen en el
 etja ensima i ase en arena te otras asen en

catre?
 'katre//
 'katre

Juanita: ¡Callate la boca!
 'kajate la boca//
 'kajate

Matilde: Un sinverüensa que ni siquiera sabeh quien eh.
 un sinperwensa ke ni si kjer'a sabex kjen ex//
 sinperwensa ke 'sabex kjen es

Juanita: ¡Callate!
 'kajate
 'kajate

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Matilde: ... ¿Y qué más dá? Tan animal fue ese como son loh
 i ke max ða // tan animal fue ese como son loh
 mas fue ese como son

demáh. Tón son igualeh. ¿Y qué tú te creías? ¿Pa qué dibah a tener
 ðemah // i ke tu te creías // pa ke ðipax a tener
 demas todos iguales te creías para ðipax tener

ese cuerpo sino pa que un animal te lo comiera? Si no era ese
 ese cuerpo sino pa ke un animal te lo comiera // si no era ese
 ese cuerpo para ke ta ese

hubiera sólo otro. Eh lo mehmo. ¿Y quién se muere por eso? No,
 upjefa, sijo otro // ex lo mehmo // i kjen se muere por eso // no/
 sijo otro es mismo kjen se muere eso

mijita. Cuando una ehta preña no eh cuehtión de morirse. Eh
 mijita // kquando una ehta preña no ex kwehtión de morirse // ex
 mijita preñada es kwehtión de es

cuehtión de parir... o de dir a casa e Doña Celinda. Así, que
 kwehtión de parir / o ðe ðir a casa e ðona selinda // así / ke
 kwehtión de ðe ir ðe selinda ke

ehcoge. ... Vamoh, nenita. No se paca na llorando. Tú no pueh
 ehkoge // bamox / nenita // no se saka na jorando // tu no pueh
 ehkoge bamox nenita se nana puehes

remediar jaber naño mujer. Y ehtah cosah noh pasan a lah mujereh.
 Remediar xaber naño mujer // j ehtah kosah noh pasan a lah mujereh //
 remediar xaber naño estas kosas noh las mujeres

Ya sé que la primera ves paese cosa del otro mundo. Y que da
 ja se ke la primera ves paese cosa del otro mundo // i ke ða
 ke pes paese ke

vergüensa. Y que dá mieo. Pero no eh pa tanto. Eh la mehma
 perxwensa // i ke ða mieo // pero no ex pa tanto // ex la mehma
 perxwensa ke mieo pero es para es la misma

hihtoria de siempre. La que más que la que meno hemoh papao por
 ixtorja de siempre // la ke max ke la ke meno emax papao por
 ixtorja de siempre ke mas ke ke menos emas pasado

eso. Vamoh... No te apureh. Doña Celinda tie buena mano. Y no te
 eso // bamox / no te apureh // ðona selinda tie buena mano // i no te
 eso bamox te apures selinda tie buena te

Matilde: tiéh que preocupal por loh chavoh. Yo voy a pagale el
 'ti:ex k 'prejokupa/ por 'lox 'tjapox// jo pa: a pagale el
 'tjenes 'prejokupa/ los 'tjapos pa:arle

trabajito.
 'tjapaxito/

Juanita: Pero eh que disen que eso eh un pecao, Matilde.
 'pe:so ex ke 'disen ke 'eso ex um 'pe:cao/ matilde/
 'pe:so es ke 'disen ke 'eso es 'pe:cao matilde

Matilde: Sí, eso disen. Pero no te vah a poner a creer to' lo que
 si/ 'eso 'disen // 'pe:so no te pa: a poner a k'reer to' lo ke
 'eso 'disen 'pe:so te pa: a k'reer to' ke

oyeh. A máh que toah esah vainah*lah inventaron los ombreh. Tóh
 'ti:ex// a max ke 'to:ax 'esax 'paina: lax 'imben:ta:ron los 'somb're:ex to:ax
 'x'es mas ke 'to:as 'esax pa:as las 'imben:ta:ron los 'somb're:es to:as

loh aprietoh de la mujereh son pa, elloh un pecao. 'Pecao! 'Pecao!
 'lox 'ap:ri:etox 'de la mu:xe:re: son pa 'ejox um 'pe:cao// 'pe:cao/ 'pe:cao//
 'los 'ap:ri:etox 'de las mu:xe:res 'pa:as 'ejox 'pe:cao 'pe:cao 'pe:cao

Con la boca eh un mamey. Pero ya quisiera yo ver argun macho de
 kon la boca ex um mamey/ 'pe:so ja k'isje:ra jo per argun macho 'de
 es 'pe:so alyum macho

esoh en un aprieto como ehte. 'loh muy sinvergüensah! Elloh tien
 'esox en un 'ap:ri:eto 'komo 'ehte// 'lox mui 'sinbergyensax// 'ejox 'tijen
 'esox en 'ap:ri:eto 'komo 'este los 'sinbergyensax 'ejox 'tjenen
 p. 90

derecho a jaser con una lo que leh da la gana. Y luego una no pue
 'de:re:cho a xa:ser kon una lo ke leh da la 'gana/ i 'lwe:yo una no pue
 'de:re:cho a xa:ser ke les 'lwe:yo 'pwe:de

jaser lo que le da la gana con la porquería que le han dejao
 'xa:ser lo ke le da la 'gana kon la 'porke:ria ke le an dexao
 'a:ser ke le 'porke:ria ke le dexao

adentro. ¡Qué bonito!, ¡verdad? ...
 'a:den:tro// ke bonito/ pe:so:so//
 'a:den:tro

Juanita: Y doña Celinda, ¿no se lo dirá a naiden?
 i 'do:ña 'se:lin:da/ no se lo 'di:ra a 'nai:den//
 'se:lin:da se 'na:je

Matilde: ¡No, seah hoba!... Doña Celinda eh una tumba. Eso eh parte
no sejah bopa // Doña selinda ex una tumba // Eso ex parte
ce'as selinda es eso es parte

de su negocio.
de su negosio //
de

Juanita: ... Y Matilde... ¿duele mucho?
i matilde / ¿wele' mutjo
matilde / ¿wele' mutjo

Matilde: No, mijita, no duele ná. A mí Doña Celinda me trabajó
no / mijita / no ¿wele' ná // a mí Doña selinda me trápaxo
¿wele' ná // selinda me

doh, vesh anteh de que me operaran en el hospital. ¡Y ni lo sentí!
doh, pesex antex de ke me operahan en el ospital // i ni lo senti
dos' peses antes de ke me en senti

Juanita: ... ¿No será mejor dejalo... pa mañana?
no será mexor ¿exalo // pa mañana //
¿exalo para

Matilde: ¿Pa qué? Ehtah cosah mientrah más se dejan, peor eh.
pa ke // extax kosax mientrah mas se dexan / pe'or ex //
para estas kosas mientrah se pe'or es

Vamoh, vente, no tengah miero.
bamox / vente / no tengax mjeo //
bamox vente tengax mjeo

Juanita: ... ¿Y tú, vah a dir conmigo?
i tu / baxa ¿ax komigo
pas a ir

Matilde: ... Claro que sí, nenita, claro que sí. Vente. Vamoh. ...
klaño ke si / nenita / klaño ke si // vente // bamox //
ke nenita ke vente bamox

Juanita: ¡Qué bravo ehtá el mar! ¿Lo oyeh?
ke brapo ehta el mar // lo oyeh //
ke es

Matilde: ... Sí, no te ocupeh del mar ahora. Vente.
si / no te okupeh del mar ahora // vente //
okupes vente

Juanita: Ya... voy. ...
 ʃja / βɔi //
 dʒa

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Matilde: ... ¡Avanza, mijita, avanza!
 aβansa / miʃita / aβansa //
 miʃita

...

Luis: ¡Juanita! ... ¡Juanita! ...
 xwa'nita // xwa'nita //

...

Doña Isabel: Juanita iba por el callejón con Matilde. ¡Quiereh que
 xwa'nita 'ipa por el kaje'xon kom matilde // kje'ɛx ke
 matilde kje'ɛs ke

la llame?
 la'jame
 jame

Luis: ... No... No, grasiash.
 no / no / 'ɣɛsjaɣ //
 'ɣɛsjaɣ

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Doña Isa: ¡Vaya mal rato que estará pasando tu madre! Lo peor eh
 'baɣa mal rato ke estaɾa paɾando tu'maðɛ // lo peɾoɾ ex
 'baɣa ke estaɾa 'maðɛ peɾoɾ es

que ahora Chaguito no se salva de la cárcel. Severo me dijo que no
 ke aɔɾa tjaɣito no se'salpa ðe la kaeɾel // se'peɾo me'ðixo ke no
 ke tjaɣito se ðe se'peɾo me ke

iba a poder haser nada.
 'ipa a poðeɾ asɛɾ'naðal //

Luis: Ya lo sé, Doña Isa.
 ʃja lo se / ðona'isa //
 dʒa

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Doña Isa: ¿Y tú, qué vas a hacer?
i tu/ ke pas a abet'

Luis: Hoy conseguí trabajo.
ho konseñi trápaxo

Doña Isa: ¿Ah sí? Eso te anclará mah aquí, no?
a: si// 'eso te aykla'ra max aki/ no//
eso te

Luis: ... Ah, y quería decile que ahora pronto podré pagar a Don
a: /i k'evija ðe'sile ke a'ora 'pronto podré pagar a ðon
k'evija ðe'sile ke pronto

Severo la cuenta del cafetín.
se'pe'ro la 'kwenita ðel kafe'tin//
se'pe'ro kwenita kafe'tin

Doña Isa: ... No hay prisa ninguna.
no a: 'prisa ninyuna//
a:

Luis: Pa uhte no, pero pa mí sí. Me arde la cara de vergüenza
pa uhte no/pe'ro pa mi si// me 'arde la k'ara ðe pe'rywensa
para usted p'ro para me a'ñe ðe pe'rywensa

de debele a Don Severo.
ðe ðe'bele a ðon se'pe'ro//
ðe'bele se'pe'ro

Doña Isa: ... ¿Por qué? Tó el mundo vive de deudas.
por ke// to el 'mundo pibe ðe ðe'u'das//
todo

Luis: ... Sí, pero Don Severo... Se ha portado tan bien con
si/pe'ro ðon se'pe'ro / se a portado tam'bien kon
p'ro sepero se tam'bien

nojotroh.
noxot'ax//
nosot'as

Doña Isa: ... ¿Ehtah seguro que eh por Severo por lo que sienteh
ehtax se'yuto ke ex por se'pe'ro por lo ke 'sienteh
estas ke es sepero ke 'sientes

Doña Isa: vergüenza?
 per'wensa
 per'wensa

Luis: ... ¿Por qué... por qué me pregunta eso?
 por' ke / por' ke me pre'gunta 'eso//
 me pre'gunta 'eso

Doña Isa: ... ¿No será por lo que dice la gente? ¿No será porque
 no será por lo ke 'dise la 'gente// no será por'ke
 ke 'dise 'gente

todos dicen que soy... tu querida?
 'to'dos 'dise'n ke soy / tu ke'ri'ña//
 'dise'n ke

Luis: ... ¡Embuhteh! ¡Embuhteh!
 embux'tex// embux'tex//
 embustes embustes

Doña Isa: Eso es lo que dicen.
 'eso es lo ke 'dise'n//
 eso es ke 'dise'n

Luis: Pero uhté sabe que son embuhteh.
 'pero uhte 'sape ke son embux'tex//
 'pero uste ke em'bustes

Doña Isa: To depende. ... La verda es que la gente es siega.
 To 'depende// la per'ida es ke la 'gente es 'siega//
 todo 'depende es ke 'gente es

Tengo en casa una sobrina que si no es lo que se llama bonita, por lo
 'tengo en kasa una sobrina ke si no es lo ke se 'lama bonita / por lo
 'tengo en ke es ke se

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menos es bastante mona. Nadie puede negar que te gusta Martita.
 'menos es bastante mona// na'je, 'puede negar ke te 'gusta martita//
 'menos es 'puede ke

Nadie puede negar que has andao rondandola. Pero la gente no lo ve.
 na'je, 'puede negar ke as andao rondandola// 'pero la 'gente no lo ve.
 na'je, 'puede ke andao 'rondandola 'pero 'gente

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Doña Isa: Es mucho más sabroso imaginar que tú andas detrás de la
 es 'mucho mas sabroso 'imaginar ke tu 'andas detrás de la
 'mucho sabroso ke de

tía. Porque la tía es casada y es vieja. Y eso sí tiene pique.
 'tía // 'porke la 'tía es 'casada es 'vieja // 'eso si 'tiene 'pique //
 'tía 'porke es

Luis: A esah cosah no se le jaseh caso.
 a 'esah 'kosah no se le 'jaseh 'kaso
 'esas 'kosas se 'aseh

Doña Isa: ¡Claro que no! Hasta que una noche tú vas a casa a ver
 'klaro ke no // 'asta ke una 'noche tu vas a 'casa a ver
 ke 'noche

a Martita. Pero antes de ir te has dao unos palos. Pa darte ánimo.
 a 'martita // 'pero antes de ir te as 'dao unos 'palos // 'pa 'darte 'ánimo //
 'pero antes de te 'dao

Porque al fin te das cuenta que necesitas una mujer. Y vas a
 'porke al fin te das 'kuenta k 'necesitas una 'mujer // 'pas a
 'porke fin te 'kuenta necesitas

declararte. Con unoh palos en la cabeza.
 'deklarte // kon 'unoh 'palos en la 'kabeza
 'deklarte 'unos en

Luis: ¡No siga, Doña Isa!
 no siga / 'Doña 'isa //

Doña Isa: Pero Martita no está en casa. Severo la ha llevao al
 'pero 'martita no está en 'casa // 'severo la a 'llevao al
 'pero esta en 'severo 'llevao

sine. ¡Porque hay que ver lo que Severo quiere a mi sobrina! Y
 'sine // 'porke ay ke ver lo ke 'severo 'quiere a mi 'sobrina // 'i
 'sine 'porke ay ke ke 'severo 'quiere

tú me encuentrah sola. A mí, a la tía casada y vieja. A la que el
 tu me enkuentrah 'sola // a mí / a la 'tía 'casada es 'vieja // a la ke el
 me enkuentrah ke

barrio te da por querida.
 'barrio te da por 'querida //
 'barrio te

Luis: Ehtá bien. Ehtá bien. 'Gállese ya.
 ex'ta βjen // ex'ta βjen // 'kajese ja
 esta βjen esta βjen 'kajese

Doña Isa: ... Estábamoh tú y yo, solos. Y el ruido del mar que
 estapamox tu i jo' solos // i el Rwi'ño del mar ke
 estapamos r'wi'ño ke

entraba por el balcón. Y tú dijiste: "El mar ehtá bravo esta
 entraba por el balcón // i tu dixiste / el mar ex'ta'βfapo' esta
 entraba dixiste esta

noche." ... Sí, estaba bravo. Igual que hoy. El mar siempre
 'notje // si / estaba βfapo // i'xwal ke x' / El mar 'sjempfe
 notje estaba ke 'sjempfe

se pone bravo cuando algo malo va a pasar. ... Y pasó aquella
 se pone βfapo'kwando'algo' malo pa a pasar // i pasó akeja
 se pone

noche, pasó.
 'notje / pasó //
 notje

Luis: Ya lo sé. Lo que jise no tie' perdón. No me lo requeira
 sja lo se // lo ke xise no tie' perdón // no me lo Re'kweide
 dzo ke 'ise 'tyene r'ekweide

máh, Doña Isa. Ya sé que soy un sinvergüensa.
 máh / Doña 'isa // sja se ke soy un 'simber'wensa //
 mas dzo ke 'simber'wensa

Doña Isa: No, Luis, los sinvergüensah no saben nunca que lo son.
 no / luis / los 'simber'wensax no 'saben' nunca ke lo son //
 'simber'wensas 'saben ke

Tú no tuviste la culpa.
 tu no tupiste la'kulpá //
 tupiste

Luis: Sí, la tuve. Por jaber be'fio. ¡Pa que tuve que beberme, ese
 si / la 'tupe // por 'xaper'pepijo // pa ke tupe ke beberme, ese
 tupe 'aper'pepijo para ke tupe ke beberme ese

ron?
 R'on //
 r'on

Paco: ¿Por qué no contesta mis preguntas?
 pɔɾ ke no kontesta mis pɾɛɣuntas//

Juanita: Me pone triste. No sé quién es usted.
 me pone trɪstɛ.// no se kjen ex ɔxtɛ//
 me pone trɪstɛ kjen es ɔstɛð

Paco: Un hombre que le ofrece compartir su soledad.
 un ɔmbɾe ke le ofɾese, kɔmpɛrtɪɾ su soledað//

Juanita: ... ¿Cómo?
 kɔmo
 kɔmo

Paco: Casándome con usted.
 Kasandome kɔn ɔstɛð//

Juanita: ... Eh, loco.
 Eɪtɔ, lokɔ//
 eɪtɔ loko

Paco: No voy a mentirle diciendo que estoy loco de amor... Pero
 no ɔɪ a mentɪɾle ðɪʃɛndo ke eɪstɔi loko ðe ɔmɔɾ/ 'peɾo

desde que la conocí supe que nos necesitábamos mutuamente.
 ðesðe ke la, kɔnɔsi supe ke nos neɛesi: ɾapamɔs, mutuamɛnte//

Juanita: Sí, "arros con leche" se quiere casar. Pero yo no soy
 si ɔ'ɾɔs kɔn leɲɛ se, kjeɾe kasaɾ// peɾo jo no soɪ
 ɔ'ɾɔs leɲɛ kjeɾe p. ɔ

viuda pa poner la mesa en su lugar. Ni soy... señorita pa lo otro.
 'βjuða pa pɔnɛɾ la mesa en su lɔɣaɾ// ni soɪ / seɲɔɾɪta pa lo ɔtɾɔ
 paɾa en seɲɔɾɪta paɾa ɔtɾo

Paco: No me importa lo que sea.
 no me ɪmpɔɾta lo ke se'a

Juanita: Sólo me ha vihto cuatro veseh.
 'solo me ɔ'βɪxtɔ 'kwatɾo βesɛx//
 'solo me 'βɪstɔ βesɛs

Paco: Veo mujeres 365 veces al año. Y no me interesan.
 'bejo muxe'fes t'res'sjenta'sesenta'singto'peses al'ano // i no me,interesan/

Juanita: ¿Y por qué yo sí?
 'i pa' ke jo si//

Paco: Será porque hay algo en usted que no pertenece a este mundo
 se'ra po'ke a' algo en usted ke no,per'tenese a' este mundo

de Nueva York. Porque hay en usted algo fresco como de mi campo de
 de'nwepa jo'k // po'ke a' en usted algo f'resko komo de mi kampo de

Morovis. Quizás un sabor a tierra...
 ,mo'fo'pis// ki'sas un sa'po'r a tje'ra

Juanita: La tierra eh amarga...
 la tje'ra es a'ma'ra/

Paco: Pero da vida. Y yo no he podido borrar la visión de mi tierra.
 'pe'ro da'pi'da // i jo no e po'di'do po'ra' la pi'sjon de mi tje'ra //

Juanita: ¿Por qué la dejó, entonseh?
 po' ke la 'ðexo/ en'tonse'x //
 'ðexo en'tonse's

Paco: Por lo que la dejamos todos. Porque creemos que el triunfo
 po' lo ke la ðexamos to'dos // po'ke kre'emus ke el tri'junfo

está lejos de ella.
 esta 'lexos de' eja //

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Juanita: ¿Uhté también tenía ilusioneh?
 u'hte tam'bjen t'ni'ja, i lus'jone'x //
 usted tam'bjen t'ni'ja, i lus'jones

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Paco: Sí. Quería ser escritor.
 si // ke'ri'a se'e ,eskri'to'e//

Juanita: ¿Ehcritor? Pa eso hay que ehtydiar mucho.
 eskri'to'e // pa 'eso a'e ke ,extu'dja'e ,mutjo//
 ,eskri'to'e 'pa'a eso a'e ke ,estu'dja'e mutjo

Paco: No lo crea. De todos modos yo no pude. Apenas llegué a Rio
 no lo 'kre'a // de 'to'dos 'mo'dos jo no 'pu'de // a'penas je'xe a ri'o

Piedras para estudiar en la Universidad, mis padres murieron. No
 'pje'dras 'pa'a ,estu'dja'e en la uni'ersi'dad / mis 'pa'dres mu'rje'ron // no

pude seguir.
 'pu'de se'gri'e //

Juanita: ¿Y qué hiso?
 i ke 'iso //

Paco: Fui conserje de un edificio del gobierno. Luego ayudante
 fui kon'se'rje de un ,e'difi'sio del go'bierno // lwe'go ,aju'dante

de linotipista en una imprenta. Logré algunos papeles secundarios
 de ,linoti'pista en una im'prenta // log're al'gunos pa'pales ,sekun'da'rios

en novelas radiales. La cosa era ganar algo para vivir. Pero lo que
 en nó'velas ra'diales // la kosa 'era ga'nar al'go pa'a vi'vir // pe'ro lo ke

me importaba eran los cuentos que escribía y que nadie quería publicar.
 me ,im'por'taba eran los 'kwentos ke ,eskri'pi'a + ke na'die ke'ri'a ,publi'ka'e //

Hice todo lo imaginable por trabajar como periodista. No fue posible.
 'ise 'to'do lo ,ima'ginal'e pa'r ,trá'paka'e 'komo pe'rjo'dista // no fue po'sible

En el periódico del gobierno mis ideas resultan independentistas. En
 en el pe'rjo'diko del go'bierno mis i'de'jas ri'esultan independentistas // en

Paco: los periódicos capitalistas lo que yo escribía sonaba a
los p'rijoðikos, kapitalistas lo ke jo, eskripi'ta sonaba a

comunismo. Y una revista comunista rechazó algunos trabajos míos
,komunismo// i' una r'evista, komunista r'etjaba algunos t'r'abajos 'mí'os

,porque le parecieron burgueses.
'p'orke le, p'aresj'erom bur'gueses//

Juanita: ¿Y por qué era eso?
i' p'or ke, 'e'ra, 'eso//
'e'ra, 'eso

Paco: No sé. Todos tenían especial empeño en encajarme en algún
no se// 'toðas tenijan, espesjal empeno en enkararme en al'gun

encasillado político. Yo no podía pensar por mí mismo. Tenía que
,enkasi'j'ato politiko// jo no poði'a pensar p'or mí mismo// teni'a ke

pertenecer a algún grupo, donde otros pensaran por mí. Así los
pertenecer a al'gun 'grupo ðonde otros pensaran p'or mí, así los

demás se sentían tranquilos.
'ðemas se senti'an t'r'anquilos//

Juanita: No entiendo. Yo siempre he pensado lo que he querido.
no entiendo// jo 'sjemp're e pensado lo ke e ke'rido//
entiendo ðjo' sjemp're pensaba ke ke'rido

Paco: No, Juanita. Usted no se da cuenta, pero es el caso que los
no/ xwanita// usted no se ða kwenta/ pero es el 'kaso ke los

demás piensan por usted. Y a mí aquello me hartó demasiado. Decidí
'ðemas 'piensan p'or usted// j a mí ðkejo me a'to ðematj'ato// ðe'ði:

enviarlos a todos al infierno. Y vine aquí, a buscar mi libertad.
embj'arlos a toðas al infierno// i' vine aki/ a buskar mi, l'ibertad//

Juanita: ¿Y uh'té encontró la libertad?
 i ux'te enkontro la libe'rtá//
 usteð enkontro

Paco: ... Sí. A la entrada de la bahía, con una antorcha en una
 si// a la en'trada de la ba'jía/ ken una anto'rtja en una

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mano y un libro en la otra. Pero la antorcha y el libro son de
 'mano i un 'libro en la o'tra// pe'ro la anto'rtja i el 'libro son de

cemento armado.
 kemento ar'maðo/

Juanita: ¡Ah, esa la he vihto yo también!
 a: 'esa la e, 'arhto jo tam'bjej//
 'esa 'arhto tam'bjej

Paco: Claro, para eso la tienen allí, para que la veamos. Pero
 'kla'ro / 'pa'ra 'eso la 'tjenen a'ji / 'pa'ra ke la 'pejamos// pe'ro

para mí la cosa siguió igual, o peor. Hace diez años llegué a
 'pa'ra mí la 'kosa sig'jo i'wal/ o pe'or// 'ase ðjes 'años je'ye a

Nueva York a escribir una novela terrible que me daría nombre y
 'nwepa jo'rk a 'eskríp'r una nóvela te'rrible ke me ða'ri'a 'nombre i

fama. Entonces podría regresar a Puerto Rico y los que me habían
 'fama// entonses po'dría r'e'x'résar a pwe'rtó r'i:ko i los ke me a'p'ijan
 fama. Entonces podría regresar a Puerto Rico y los que me habían
 'fama// entonses po'dría r'e'x'résar a pwe'rtó r'i:ko i los ke me a'p'ijan
 re'konosér su estupi'do e'r:or//

Juanita: ¿Y cómo se llama la novela?
 i 'komo se 'jama la nóvela//
 'komo se

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Paco: No la escribí nunca.
no la eskřipí 'nunka //

Juanita: ¡Adiós - ará!* ¡Bonita plancha la que uhté ha hecho!
a'đjox ká'ra // bonita plantja la ke uhte a'etjo
a'đjox ká'fano 'plantja ke usteđ 'etjo

Paco: Es verdad. Nueva York no me dió la libertad, pero me secó
es pe'đax // 'nwepa joxk no me đjo la lipertad / 'peto me seko

el entusiasmo. ¡Aunque ya no me importa! Lo más probable es que
el entusjismo // 'aunque ja no me importa // lo mas p'opable es ke

nunca sirviera como escritor,
'nunka sirpjerá 'komo eskřitór //

Juanita: ¡Uhté eh un animal! ¡Mire que si yo pudiera escribir
uhte ex un animal mire ke si jo p'utjerá eskřipir
usted es ke eskřipir.

bonito diba a darme por vensía! ¡Máh nunca! ¡Con lah cosah tremendah
bonito 'đipa a'đarm por pensija // máx 'nunka // kon lah kosah trémendar
'ipa pensija mas las kosas trémendas

que yo tendría que decir! ¡Máh nunca me daría por vensía!
ke jo tendrija ke đesiř // máx 'nunka me đarija por pensija //
ke tendrija ke đesiř mas me đarija pensija

Paco: A lo mejor lo que necesito es su ayuda.
a lo me'xox lo ke necesito es su aju'da //

Juanita: ¿Mi ayua?
mi a'juwa //
a'ju'da

Paco: Casese conmigo, y obligueme a escribir.
'kasese kómigo / + opligeme a eskřipir

Juanita: ¿Quién, yo? Ay, deje eso. Nadie pué obligar a nadie a
kjen / jo // a / đexe eso // nađje, pwe opli'gar a'nađje a
kjen a / đexe eso pweđe

Juanita: haser ná. A máh que yo no me, caso con uhté. No lo
 aser ná// a max ke 'o no me kaso kan uhté// no lo
 nája mas ke ' me usted

entiendo bien.
 entjendo bien//
 entjendo bien

Paco: Lo único que necesita entender es mi soledad.
 lo 'uniko ke nesecito, entender es mi, soledad//

Juanita: No sea idiota. Si su soledad se junta con la mía tendríamos
 no sea i'jota// si su soledad se junta con la mía tendríamos
 sea soledad tendríamos

una soledad más grande. ¿Qué ganamos con eso?
 una soledad más grande ke ganamos con eso//
 soledad mas ganamos con eso

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Paco: Dos soledades juntas dejan de ser soledad.
 dos soledades juntas dejan de ser soledad//

Juanita: Habla uhté ahora como en las novelas de radio. Pero yo
 apla uhté a'ora 'komo en las novelas de Radio// pero yo
 usted 'komo en las novelas Radio 'pero

hase tiempo que no creo en la radio. Fíjese, ha dejado calentar la
 'ase tiempo ke no kreo en la Radio// fíjese/ a 'deja, calentar la
 'ase tiempo ke 'krejo en la Radio fíjese 'deja, calentar

serpasa.
 serpasa//
 serpasa

Voz de Lidia: ... ¡Juanita! ¡El teléfono!
 xwanita// el teléfono
 telefono

Paco: Parece que la llaman.
 pa'ese ke la 'jaman//

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Lidia: ... ¡Juanita! ¡Que vaya al teléfono del "yanitel"! *
 xwanita // ke 'pa'ja al teléfono del 'janitel'
 ke 'pa'jas teléfono 'dzamita

Juanita: ... Voooy. ... Bueno, váyase.
 βɔ + // βwenɔ /βa'jase //
 βwenɔ 'pa'jase

Paco: ¿Me echa ya?
 me etʃa ja //

Juanita: Habíamos quedao en que se diba tan pronto se bejiera la
 a'pijamaɣ ke'ʒao en ke se 'ɔ'pa tan p'ronto se be'je'ra la
 ke'ʒao en ke se 'i'pa 'p'ronto be'je'ra

serveza. Y como no se la a va beber...
 se'βesa // i 'komo no se la a pa be'βe' //
 se'βesa komo se be'βe'

Paco: Pero antes habíamos quedado en que me invitaba usted a almor-
 pe'o antes a'pi'tamos ke'ʒao en ke me imbi'taba usted a almor-

zar o en que la invitara yo.
 'sa' o en ke la imbi'tara jo //

Juanita: Sí, pero, anteh yo no lo conocía a uhté. ... Adiós, Paco.
 si / pe'o antex jono lo konotija a uhte // a'ʒɔs / pa'ko //
 pe'o antes konotia usted

Paco: No le conocido a su mamá.
 no e konosido a su mama //

Juanita: Yo le contaré de uhté. Y sera lo mihmo.
 ʃjo le kontare de uhte // i sera lo 'mihmo //
 ʒjo le de uhte mismo

Paco: ¿Cuándo nos veremos?
 kwando nos pe'remos //

Juanita: Algún día. No sé. Adiós.
 alɣun'dija // no se // a'ʒɔs //
 di'a

...

Lidia: ¡Qué varón más bien formado! ¿De dónde lo sacaste?
 ke pa'om mas βjemfōrmao // de dōnde lo sakaste //
 βjemfōrmao de dōnde sakaste

Juanita: ¿No sabes quién me llama?
 nō saβex kjem me jama //
 saβex kjem me jama

Lidia: Nadie, hija. La mujer del "yanitol" me dijo que un hombre
 naʒ / mɪxə // la muxeʁ del 'janitol me dixo ke un 'ompre
 mɪxə dʒanitol me ke ombre

muy "handsome" había venido aquí poco después de tu llegada. Y yo
 mwi 'ansom aβija βniʒo aki 'poko deʁpweʁ de tu jexaʒa // i ju
 'hansom aβija βniʒo 'poko deʁpweʁ de

quería ver ese tesoro con mis propios ojos.
 ke'rija βe'ese teʁo kōm mis 'pɾopjos 'oxos //
 ke'rija ese teʁo

Juanita: ¡Sángana!
 'sangana //

Lidia: ¿Es latino?
 es latino
 es

Juanita: De Morovis. Bueno, ¿y qué eh de tu vida?
 de moʁoβis // βweno / i ke ex de tu βiʒa //
 moʁoβis βweno es de

Lidia: No me cambies la conversación. Estamos hablando de tu vida,
 nō me kambjes la kōmpersasjōn // estōms aβlando de tu βiʒa //
 me kambjes kōmpersasjōn estōms de

no de la mía. ¿Cómo es que lo trajiste aquí?
 nō de la mɪja // kōmo es ke lo traxiste aki //
 mɪja kōmo es ke traxiste

Juanita: ¡Qué se yo! Sería porque me pareció distinto. Y porque me
 ke se jo // se'rija poʁke me pe'rijo dɪstinto // i poʁke me
 se'rija poʁke me dɪstinto poʁke me

Juanita: guhtaba. Pero ahora no me guhta. Y no me guhta, pre-
 yuxtapa// pe'č a'č'a no me yuxta// i no me yuxta/ p'e
 yustapa 'pe'č 'yusta 'yusta p'e

cisamente por eso, porque es dihtinto.
 'sisa'mente por 'eso/ 'por'ke es 'dihtinto//
 'sisa'mente 'est/ 'por'ke es 'di'stinto

Lidia: No entiendo eso, lio.
 no entiendo 'eso lio
 entiendo 'eso

Juanita: Yo tampoco. Pero así eh. Me vine a dar cuenta aquí,
 'yo tampoco// pe'č así eh// me 'vine a 'dar 'kuenta a'ki/
 'yo tampoco 'pe'č es 'pine 'kuenta

hase un momento, mientrah él hablaba.
 'ase un momento/ 'mientrah él 'aplapa//
 'ase momento 'mientrah

Lidia: ... Cuando a las mujeres nos da por enredar las cosas no
 'kwando a las mu'jeres nos 'da por en're'dar las 'kosas no
 mu'jeres en're'dar

nos entendemos ni nosotras mismas. ... ¿Tienes cerveza?
 nos entenden'os ni nosotras 'mismas// 'tienes se'r'pesa//
 entendemos 'tienes

Juanita: Sí, en la nevera hay.
 si/ en la ne'pera a'
 en ne'pera a'

Lidia: ... Voy a coger una. Tu hermano y mi marido se quedaron
 'bo'i a ko'jer una// tu e'r'mano i mi mo'i'jo se ke'da'ron
 se ke'da'ron

allá jugando domino y bebiéndose la que me quedaba. ...
 a'ja xu'gando 'domino i be'biéndose la ke me ke'daba//
 be'biéndose ke me ke'daba

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Juanita: ¿Y cómo va tu mario?
 i, 'komo pa tu ma'ri'jo//
 'komo ma'ri'jo

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Doña Gabriela: ¿En qué puedo servirlo?
 en ke 'pweɔ seɾ'pɪle //
 en 'pweɔ seɾ'pɪle

Park: Si no es molestia tendría sumo placer en hablarle en nombre
 si nou es moulestja tendrija 'sumo plaser en aɾlaɾ'en noumbɾe
 no molestja tendrija 'sumo plaser en aɾlaɾ en 'noumbɾe

del Señor.
 del siɲor //
 seɲor

Doña Gabriela: ¿Qué señor...?
 ke seɲor //

Park: El Señor Creador del Cielo y de la Tierra. ¡He nombrado a
 el siɲor kɾe'ador del sielo i de la ti'erra // es noumbɾado a
 seɲor kɾe'ador 'sjelo i ti'erra e noumbɾado a

Jehová, mi querida hermana! ¿Puedo pasar? ... Gracias. Es usted
 xeixouva / mi keɾida eɾmana // 'pweɔ pa'sar // 'ɣɾasias // es u'sted
 xejo'ba keɾi'ɣa eɾmana 'pweɔ pa'sar 'ɣɾasjas u'steɣ

sumamente amable. ... ¡Idolatry! ¡Ignorant folks!
 'sumamente amable // a'ɪdolatɾi // i'gnorant fɒks //
 sumamente amable

Doña Gabriela: ¿Cómo dise?
 'komo 'ðise //
 'komo 'ðise

Park: ... Digo que tenemos que hablar, señora. ¿Puedo sentarme?
 digo ke tenemos ke aɾlar / siɲora // 'pweɔ se'ntarme //
 digo ke tenemos aɾlar seɲora 'pweɔ se'ntarme

... Gracias.
 'ɣɾasias
 'ɣɾasjas

Juanita: ... ¿Quién eh, mamá?
 kjen ex / mama //
 kjen es

Doña Gabriela: No sé. Un americano...
 no se // un aɾe'i'kano //

Park: Parkington es mi nombre, hermana.
 parkɪŋtən es mi 'noumbres/ɛfmana
 'nombre ɛfmana

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Juanita: ... ¿Y qué, quiere?
 i ke 'kʲeʔe
 'kʲeʔe

Doña Gabriela: Entoavía ehtoy ehperando que me lo diga.
 ɛntowapija ɛtɔi ɛpɛʔando keme lo ɔɪga//
 ɛntoɔapiɔa ɛtɔi ɛspɛʔando lo

Park: ... Mucho gusto, señorita.
 mutʃou gustou/ɕiɲɔʔita//
 'mutʃo 'ɣusto seɲorita

Juanita: ... Mamá, te tengo*dicho que aquí no se le abre la puerta
 mana/te tengo ɔitʃo ke aki no se le 'apɛ la 'puɛɾta
 te tengo ɔitʃo ke se le 'apɛ

a gente que uno no conoce.
 a xente ke uno no kɔnoʔe//
 'xente ke kɔnoʔe

Doña Gabriela: La puerta de mi casa siempre ha ehtao abierta.
 la puɛɾta ɔɛ mi kasa sjempɛ a ɛtɔa a'pɛɾta//
 ɔɛ 'sjempɛ ɛtɔa

Aquí si la sierro eh por el frío. Bueno, señor, acabe de desir lo
 aki si la sjɛɾɔ ɛx pɔɛ el 'fɾiɔ// 'bueno/ɕeɲɔɾ/ a'kape ɔɛ ɔɛɪɾ lo
 es 'fɾiɔ 'bueno seɲɔɾ a'kape ɔɛ ɔɛɪɾ

que tiene que desir. ...
 ke 'tʲene ke ɔɛɪɾ//
 ke 'tʲene ke ɔɛɪɾ

Park: Muchas gracias, señora. La hospitalidad de los latinos es
 mutʃas ɣɾasɪjas seɲɔɾa// la hospitalidad ɔɛ los latinos es
 mutʃas 'ɣɾasɪjas seɲɔɾa la ospitalidad ɔɛ los latinos

maravillosa. Siempre lo he dicho. Pues bien, tenga usted mi tarjeta.
 maravilɔusa// sjempɛ lo ɛɔɔitʃou/ 'puɛɪsbijen/ tenga usted mi tarɛɛta//
 'marabiɔsa// sjempɛ e ɔitʃo pɛs ɔɛɪn teɲgaustɛɪ tarɛɛta

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Park: ... Como verá soy representante de la Iglesia de Dios,
 komou verá soi representante de la igllesiya dei dijous
 'komo pe'ra soi r:epresentante ðe la i'glesja ðe ðjos

Incorporada.
 Inkorporada //
 inkorpo'raða/

Dña Gabriela: ... ¿Díoh incorporao? ¿Incorporao a qué?
 djox inkorpo'rao // inkorpo'rao a ke //
 djos inkorpo'raðo inkorpo'raðo

Park: No, no. Díos no está incorporado. La que está incorporada
 nou nou dijous nou esta inkorporadou // la ke esta inkorporada
 no/ no ðjos no esta inkorpo'raðo // la ke esta inkorpo'raða

es la Iglesia.
 es la igllesiya
 es la i'glesja

Dña Gabriela: ¿Y qué quiere decir eso?
 i ke 'kje'e ðesiv'eso //
 'kje'e ðesiv'eso

Park: ... Quiere decir... verá usted... Incorporado es... una
 'kje'e ðesiv' / verá usted inkorporadou es / una
 'kje'e ðesiv' / pe'ra usted / inkorpo'raða es / una

corporación.
 'korporasjoun //
 korpo'ra'sjon

Juanita: ... ¿Como lah sentraleh, mamá! ¿Como lah sentraleh de
 komo lax sent'ralex / mamá // komo lax sent'ralex ðe
 komo las sent'rales komo las sent'rales ðe

Puerto Rico!
 'puerto 'Riko //
 puerto riko

Dña Gabriela: No entiendo. Pero siga...
 no entiendo i pero siga //
 entiendo pe'ra

Park: Bueno, habrá usted leído en los periódicos... es algo que ha
 'bweino / abra usted leido en los pe'riodikos es algo ke a
 'bweino a'pra usted leido en los pe'riodikas es algo ke a

Park: tenido una magnífica publicidad, una publicidad de primera
 tenido una magnífica publicidad / una publicidad de primera
 tenido magnífica publicidad / publicidad de primera

plana... la creación del Comité Municipal Pro Mejora de los Puertorri-
 plana / la kre'as'sjon del komite municipal pro mejora de los puertori-
 plana / la kre'as'sjon del komite municipal pro mejora de los puertori-

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queños. El alcalde de esta gran democrática ciudad de New York está
 keynous // El al'kalde de esta gran demokratika siudad de nu jark esta
 keyns // al'kalde de esta gran demokratika siudad de nu jark esta

terriblemente interesado en ustedes. ... El alcalde, siguiendo la
 teri'blamente interesadon en ustedes // El al'kalde / sigjendou la
 teri'blamente interesados en ustedes // El al'kalde / sigjendo la

doctrina de Johová, no distingue entre negros o blancos, ricos o
 doktrina der dzahouva / no distingue entre negros o bl'nkous / rikous ou
 doktrina de xehova / no distingue entre negros o blan'kos / rikos

pobres, puertorriqueños o americanos.
 poubres / portori'keynos ou amerikanos //
 pobres / pwe'rtori'keyns o ameri'kanos

Juanita: ¿Dende cuando?
 dende 'kwando //
 desde

Park: ... ¿Cómo dice la señorita?
 komou' diser la, siñorita //
 como 'dise la, señorita

Juanita: La señorita dise que dende cuando el alcalde no hase
 la, señorita 'dise ke dende kwando el al'kalde no 'ase
 señorita 'dise ke desde ase

distingoh.
 distingoh //
 distingos

Park: ... Pues... Desde siempre. Pero claro, se han cometido
 pwers 'desde siempre // perou' klarou / se an kometidou
 pwers 'desde siempre // pero' klafo / se an kometi'fo

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Park: errores en el pasado... Errores que todos lamentamos... ; Eso
 errors en el pasado/ errors ke todos lamentamos ; eso
 erres en el pasado / erres ke todo lamentamos eso

no volverá a suceder! Ahora será otra cosa.
 nou volvéra a suseder// a'ora sera'otra kosa //
 no βalvéra a suseder// a'ora sera'otra kosa

Juanita: ¿Qué cosa?
 ke' kosa //

Park: ¿Cómo?
 komou //

Juanita: Digo, que qué cosa será esa otra de ahora.
 digo / ke ke kosa será esa otra de a'ora //
 ke sera esa de

Park: Pues... el mejoramiento de la colonia puertorriqueña, señorita.
 pwes el meshoramijento de la kolounia, p'ortorikaña sin'orita //
 pwes el ,mexoramiento de la kolonja pwe'to'rikaña/ se'norita //

Para que así pueda estar a nivel... ... Quiero decir, para que sea
 , para ke así pwe'da estar a nivel , ki'je'ou desir/ para ke se'ja
 pa'ra ke así pwe'da estar a nivel ki'je'ou desir/ pa'ra ke se'ja

igual... ... Bueno... que no sea objeto de discriminación.
 igual/ pwenou ke nou se'ja obheto de diskriminasion //
 i'wal bweno / ke no se'a op'eto de diskriminasion //

Juanita: ... De mo que noh van a haser mejoreh. Noh van a haser
 de mo ke noh van a aser me'joreh// noh van a aser
 de mo'ke noh me'jores noh

tan buenoh como a los americanoh. Eso quiere decir que ahora no
 tam βwenoh komo a los amerikano' , eso ki'je'ou desir ke a'ora no
 βwenoh komo amerikano' eso ki'je'ou

somoh buenoh, que no somoh igualeh que uh'tedeh.
 somoh βwenoh / ke no somoh i'waleh ke uh'tedeh //
 somoh βwenoh ke somoh i'waleh ke uh'tedeh

Park: ¡Por favor, señorita! Usted me entiende mal. . . .
 por favor/ sin'orita// usted me entjendes mal //
 por favor/ se'norita usted me entjende mal

GLOSSARY OF PUERTO RICANISMS IN LA CARRETA

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE GLOSSARY

Citations:

- APR El arcaísmo vulgar en el español de Puerto Rico, Manuel Álvarez Nazario. (Mayagüez, P.R.: Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña, 1957).
- C Conversation with René Marqués by telephone, March 27, 1971.
- DGA Diccionario general de americanismos, Francisco J. Santamaría. 3 Vols., First Ed. (Mexico: Editorial Pedro Robrero, 1942).
- DLE Diccionario de la lengua española. 19th Ed. (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1970).
- DVI Diccionario de voces indígenas de Puerto Rico, Luís Hernandez Aquino. (Bilbao, Spain: Editorial Vasco Americana, 1969).
- EAPR El elemento afronegroide en el español de Puerto Rico, Manuel Álvarez Nazario. (San Juan: Instituto de Cultura Puertorriquena, 1961).
- EPR El español en Puerto Rico: Contribución a la geografía lingüística hispanoamericana. 2nd Ed., Tomás Navarro Tomás. (Rio Piedras, P.R.: Editorial Universitaria, University of Puerto Rico, 1966).
- VP Vocabulario puertorriqueño, Rubén del Rosario. Puerto Rico: Realidad y Anhelos, Vol. I. (Sharon, Conn.: The Troutman Press, 1965).
- VPR Vocabulario de Puerto Rico. Revised, Augusto Malaret. (New York: Las Americas Publishing Co., 1967).
- I, II, III Volume numbers for Diccionario general de americanismos.

Grammatical abbreviations:

- adj. adjective
- adv. adverb
- conj. conjunction

fem.	feminine
indef.	indefinite
interj.	interjection
intr.	intransitive
masc.	masculine
n.	noun
p.	past
part.	participle
pron.	pronoun
prop.	proper
reflex.	reflexive
tr.	transitive
v.	verb
vulg.	vulgarism

GLOSSARY FOR LA CARRETA

afrentáo<afrentado. adj. shameless, impudent, brazen.
VPR p. 79.

agentáo<agentado. adj. vulg. blowhard, rotten. VPR p. 79.

agusáo<aguzado. adj. having a sharp point (agudo). Here
it seems to mean "sharp" in the sense of American slang,
i.e., clever.

ajoguillar<ajoguillo<ahogo. v. intr. to grieve or suf-
focate. VP p. 83.

alcahuete. adj. tolerant. DGA I p. 76.

anochesca, n. fem. probably nightfall, not listed in DLE.

apechar. v. tr. overcome, climb to the top of. DGA I
p. 113.

arrecuerdo<arrecordarse. v. reflex. to remember. (Probab-
ly a combination of acordarse and recordarse.)

arresmillarse. v. reflex. smile with excessive frequency
(pejorative and satirical). VPR p. 90. English ori-
gin seems evident.

ausubo. n. masc. tree of about fifteen to twenty meters in
height. Its wood is red and very hard. Of Indian
origin. VPR p. 93. DVI p. 45. Manikara bidentata.

bachata. n. fem. Listed in DGA as a localism of Puerto Rico
and Cuba meaning: spree, diversion, revelry, orgy, joke,
berry. DGA I p. 176; VPR p. 94.

bay<baráy. interj. variant of caráy (no specific meaning).
VPR p. 97.

barrigón. n. masc. very young boy. VPR p. 98.; DGA I p.
192.

bildin. n. masc. Hispanization of building.

Brons. prop. n. Hispanization of The Bronx.

Broklin. prop. n. Hispanization of Brooklyn.

- buduar < boudoir. n. masc. bedroom or sitting room (Hispanization.)
- cabuya. n. fem. cord or rope (designated as an Arawak word in VPR) VPR p. 113. DGA I p. 249.
- Cadilac < Cadillac. n. masc. Cadillac automobile.
- cahco < casco. n. masc. worthless person or thing. VPR p. 127.
- candela. n. fem. candle dar candela a uno: give one hell.
- cara. carajo (which see)
- carajo. interj. and n. masc. roughly equivalent to shit in English, both in meaning and strength. (C)
- carranclón. n. masc. augmentative of carrancla: any machine or apparatus which does not work. DGA I p. 327.
- cevilicer < civilizar. v. tr. to civilize. (The form used is not listed, but cevil, adj., is listed as a vulgar and antiquated form in DLE p. 297.)
- chago. n. masc. a small or worthless thing (also a nickname for Santiago) DGA III p. 334; (C).
- chambón. n. masc. crude shoes. VPR p. 145.
- chancletah < chancleta. n. fem. female baby, recently born. VPR p. 145; DGA I p. 463.
- changa. n. fem. destructive insect ser uno la changa: to be evil or perverse. VPR p. 145; DGA I p. 465.
- chata. n. fem. Listed as an adjective in DGA I p. 475.: unable to play a game well. VPR listing p. 146 shows the word as a term of endearment, thus not suitable in this context.
- chavo. n. masc. Listed in DLE as a localism of Andalusia and Puerto Rico for ochavo (p. 408). copper coin with the weight of one-eighth of an ounce. Now used to mean any money. DGA I p. 476.
- chinitas < china. n. fem. orange, the fruit. DGA I p. 500 lists the usage as peculiar to Cuba and Puerto Rico.
- chiripa. n. fem. small thing, small business, pattering. VPR p. 149.

chiripita. n. fem. diminutive of chiripa (which see).

chorreao. n. masc. Jíbaro dance, commonly called seis chorreado. VPR p. 151.

cocotaso < cocotazo. n. masc. a blow on the head. VPR p. 131; DGA I p. 368.

Condáo < Condado. prop. n. high income residential district of San Juan (C)

coño. n. fem. vulg. female pudendum. (Approximate in strength to cunt in English) (C)

coquí n. masc. a small nocturnal reptile which has a cry resembling the sound [kóki]. Eleutherodactylus portoricensis. DGA I p. 395; DVI p. 118.

cuaetoh < cuartos. ni ayer ni que ocho cuartos: not yesterday or ever.

cuerda. n. fem. land measure of seventy-five yards square, approximately 4,000 square meters. VPR p. 141.

cupey < copey. n. masc. Listed in VPR p. 144 as an old Indian (Taino) word for a species of tree that begins as a parasite and reaches a height of thirty to forty feet. Clusia rosea. DGA I p. 394. DVI p. 127.

dambos < ambos. adj. and pron. both VPR p. 152.

dehperkutia < despercudida. adj. describing a person whose color is lighter than that proper to his race or class. Listed in DGA I p. 571 as a Mexicanism, but used here in the same sense.

diache. interj. variant of diacho or diancho or dianche, euphemism for diablo: devil. VPR p. 157; DLE p. 473.

Dic Treisi. prop. n. Dick Tracy, the comic strip, but here a radio serial.

dir. v. intr. to go Listed in VPR p. 157 as a vulgarism. (Alonso in El Gíbaro: Cuadro de costumbres de la isla de Puerto Rico (Barcelona, 1849) p. 50 states that dir was much used by the popular writers of the sixteenth century. Thus, an archaism. The normal verb is ir.)

ehbaldáo. not listed but probably from resbalar: to slip.
Thus, resbalado or resbalando.

ehbaratá < esbaratada < esbaratar. ripped (C)

ehcarseo < escarceo. n. masc. In Cuba, incident of political or parliamentary debates, by extension a strong or heated discussion. DGA I p. 617.

ehcocotal < descocotar. v. tr. to break the neck or back of someone or something. DGA I p. 564; VPR p. 154

ehcurrir < escurrirse v. reflex. liberate oneself, probably. Given only as escurrir el bulto (same meaning). DGA I p. 621.

ehlembarse < eslembarse. v. reflex. to be stupified, stand with one's mouth open. DGA I p. 621; VPR p. 168.

ehmayao < desmayado. n. masc. very hungry person. DGA I p. 568. Use restricted to Puerto Rico

ehtasaja < estasajarse. v. reflex. Listed under tasajear and atasajar: make pieces of or scar a person or animal. DGA III p. 141.

ehtrah < estras. adj. Hispanization of extra. (C)

eje. interj. here used as an interjection, but in regular use as a noun meaning axis or axle. Thus, a pun.

empréstamo. n. masc. Listed in DLE p. 518 as an old form of empréstito: loan

emprestamoh < emprestar. v. trans. to borrow. Listed in DLE p. 518 as an old and vulgar form of prestar (same meaning).

enante < enantes. adv. Listed as an archaism now vulgarly used in place of antes: before. DLE p. 520; VPR p. 162.

entoavía < entodavía. adv. still, yet. Also heard as entuavía in Puerto Rico. It is used in all of Spain, but is not included in DLE. Probably an archaism VPR p. 166; DGA I p. 611.

estroso < destrozar. v. tr. to destroy. DLE p. 466.

fotingo. n. masc. pejorative name for an old and cheap Ford automobile. DGA I p. 650.

grandures < guandú or guandul. n. masc. annotto tree. Cajanus indicus, Cytisus cajan, Cajan cajanus. DGA III p. 377, under bixa; from the Kikongo (Angola) wandu. EAPR p. 214.

grocería. n. fem. Hispanization of grocery store. (C).

guagua. n. fem bus. DLE p. 680 lists the word as a vulgarism used in Puerto Rico, Cuba, and the Canaries. In Puerto Rico it is more specifically a bus with a fixed route. VPR p. 182. DGA II p. 41 gives the origin of the word as huahua, a Quechua word meaning baby.

guanajo. n. masc. peasant, fool, nasty person. VPR p. 183.

güicharo. n. masc. musical instrument. VPR p. 187. DGA II p. 77 lists the word as a Puerto Ricanism for güiro: a rasping musical instrument made from a gourd. Also in DVI p. 187, thus of Indian origin.

guinea. n. fem. guinea hen. Listed in DLE p. 687 as gallina guinea.

guineo. n. masc. banana of exotic species distinguished by its blandness and peculiar taste and aroma. Musa sapientum. EAPR p. 209. DGA II p. 80. EAPR p. 379 lists the word as being African in origin. The species was introduced from Africa.

güiro. n. masc. guinea pig. Listed in EPR p. 151 as being used only in eastern Puerto Rico. In the West it is guimo and cuico in the Northwest. Cara de guiro: dolichocephalic face. Meanings listed in VPR p. 188 include: gouru plant. Lagenaria vulgaris; musical instrument made of the gourd; head; prostitute. Also in DVI p. 188 as being of Indian origin.

higüera. n. fem. gourd Listed in DGA II p. 94 as a Puerto Ricanism. In DVI p. 197 as an Indian word. Fruit of Crescentia cujeta.

jaiba. adj. clever at business, very tricky. VPR p. 195. DGA II p. 136. DVI p. 216 Tiano origin.

jamaca < hamaca. n. fem. hammock Listed in VPR p. 189 as a Carib word (amaca) and often spelled jamaca in early in early literature. This word entered Spanish and English from the Caribbean. DVI p. 191.

jechesita < hechesita. Not listed but apparently a small manufactured article or perhaps an article of superstitious or magical value, or an artifice, from hechizo.

jerimiquear < jeremiquear < jemiquear. v. intr. to whine.
VPR p. 196. Listed in DLE p. 768 as restricted to America and Andalusia.

jeringonsa < jerigonza. n. fem. strange and ridiculous actions. VPR p. 196.

Jíbaro. n. masc. white peasant of Puerto Rico. VPR pp. 196-7.
adj. rustic, peasant, savage. DGA II pp. 145-6. DVI p. 222 gives the origin as being Indian (Arawak-Taino).

jigüero. n. masc. (see higüero above)

jiribilla. n. fem. Listed in VPR p. 198 and DGA II p. 153 as part of the idiom tener uno jiribilla: to be unsettled or to be difficult. The latter meaning seems to apply here.

jojoto. adj. vulg. rotten, insipid. VPR pp. 198-9

jorobar. v. trans. to screw one (in the slang sense) DGA II p. 156.

Jurutungo. prop. n. a far-off place. Probably of African origin. EAPR p. 204; DGA II p. 164.

kaki. adj. and n. Listed in DLE as caqui (p. 255) taken from the English khaki (which is in turn taken from the Urdu khākī.) Here probably a surplus U.S. Army blanket.

lambio. adj. shameless, impudent VPR p. 201.

lengüetería. n. fem. not listed but seems to mean gossip in this context.

lengüetero. adj. vulg. one who talks too much. VPR p. 202; DGA II p. 180.

llanitita. adj. Not listed under llanitita, llanita or llana, but seems to mean shallow here.

Lon Ailan. prop. n. Hispanization of Long Island

lonchera. n. fem. Not listed but seems to mean lunch box. DGA II p. 191 lists lonche as a noun coming from the English "lunch" and having the same meaning.

mafafo. n. masc. variety of plantain. DGA III p. 213. VPR p. 207. Listed as an Africanism in EAPR p. 379.

mai. n. fem. mother. In EAPR as being an Africanism from the Negro Portuguese of Cape Verde (p. 347).

- mangansona < manganzona. n. fem. idler, loafer. Listed in VPR p. 211 as an adjective meaning idle. DGA II p. 230.
- manilo. n. masc. large male chicken, rooster. VPR pp. 212-213.
- manque. conj. adv. vulg. although, though. VPR p. 213; DGA II p. 235. Archaism for aunque.
- maracah < maracas. n. fem. musical instrument made from a gourd. VPR p. 214; DLE p. 845 gives the word as a Guaraní word (mbaracá) and adds that the gourd is filled with corn. Its use is listed as being restricted to the Antillies, Columbia and Venezuela. Also in DGA II p. 241.
- marqueta. n. fem. Hispanization of market. (C)
- matres. n. masc. Hispanization of mattress as Marqués notes in his footnote on page 142 of the cited edition.
- meláo < melado. p. part. of melar. mixed with honey, usually used as an adjective meaning honey-colored. VPR p. 219 lists meláo as the common and only pronunciation of the word.
- mella. n. fem. a toothless mouth. Thus the phrase enseñar mi mella means show my toothless mouth. (C)
- mentolatum. n. Not listed, but seems to be a corruption of the tradename Mentholatum.
- mesmo. adj. Listed in DLE as an old form of mismo: same.
- mico. n. masc. a man who does not pay his debt to a prostitute. (C)
- mihteh. n. masc. Not listed, but probably derived from Mr., referring to the American government.
- monga. n. fem. grippe, influenza, cold. VPR p. 222; DGA II p. 294.
- morusa. n. fem. matted or uncombed hair. VPR p. 224; VP p. 65; DGA II p. 301.
- motete. n. masc. worthless person, bundle, package. VPR p. 224. DGA II p. 304 lists the word as being Aztec in origin.
- naide < nadie. pron. no one Listed as an archaism in APR p. 116.

ñame. n. masc. a plant whose root is much used as a vegetable by the people of Puerto Rico. Dioscorea alata, aculeata, sativa. Designated as an African word in VPR p. 228; DGA II p. 338; EAPR p. 379.

ñangotáo<ñangotado<ñangotarse. v. reflex. squat, crouch. figuratively to be servile VPR p. 228. EAPR p. 247 lists the word as being from jhongotá, a Negro Portuguese of Cape Verde word.

negro. n. masc. The phrase mi negro (my negro) is used as a term of affection in Puerto Rico. EAPR p. 348.

nengun. indef. adj. and pron. An archaic form in ningun(o): no one, none, not any. DLE p. 916.

nju. interj. Not listed.

overtaim. n.. Marqués footnotes the word as meaning extra hours of work, from the English "overtime." p. 128 of cited edition of La Carreta.

pácal. n. masc. Packard automobile. (C).

pacholí~pachulí. n. masc. aromatic plant used in the manufacture of perfume. Andropogon nardus. VPR p. 231; DGA II p. 370; DLE p. 957.

pae. n. masc. father. Listed in EAPR as being an Africanism from the Negro Portuguese of Cape Verde (p. 347).

pajuilito<pajuíl. n. masc. fruit tree whose fruit has an agreeable taste and has the peculiarity of being supported on a pear shaped stem. Anacardium occidentale. VPR p. 232.

palita. n. fem. Not listed in the phrase palita de mano. Here it seems to mean a garden tool, probably a hoe.

palos. n. masc. In the phrase dar uno un palo: 1) cause surprise or admiration, 2) enjoy oneself, satiate. VPR p. 233. Here the meaning would seem to be the latter.

pantaleta. n. fem. women's trousers or under garment, wider and shorter than men's. (Also in Mexico, Peru, and Venezuela.) VPR p. 234. DGA II p. 398.

parado. adj. stiff, proud. Listed in DLE p. 975 as being used in this sense in Puerto Rico and Chile.

patete. n. masc. variant of pateta, euphemism for "devil".
DLE p. 989 gives only pateta, but uses the phrase lo
llevo pateta (raise the devil) as an example.

pavera. n. fem. apparently used as a synonym for edad de
pavo: puberty.

pelo. n. masc. hair In the phrase darle a uno hasta dentro
del pelo: to break every bone in one's body. Listed
as typically Puerto Rican in DGA II p. 439.

pendango. n. masc. vulg. coward. VPR p. 241; DGA II p.
443; VP p. 70. Listed in EAPR as being of Bantu
origin (p. 235).

Perla n. prop. La Perla is a slum in Old San Juan. (C).

permanen. n. fem. Hispanization of permanent wave. (C).

piedra. n. fem. In the phrase piedra de indio (Indian
rock) the meaning seems to be petroglyph or monolith.
Perhaps nearer to the American "wooden Indian."

pillo. n. masc. ibis. However, here the meaning seems to
be thief. DLE p. 1025.

pisicorre. n. fem. any public vehicle, usually a run-
down car. From pisa y corre: step and run. (C)

platanoh < platano. n. masc. plantain. DGA II p. 501.

plena. n. fem. a popular musical piece almost always satir-
ical in tone. See footnote p. 15 of cited edition of
La Carreta.

pluma. n. fem. spigot. VPR p. 247.

preñar < empreñar. v. tr. impregnate. DLE p. 1060, but
listed in DGA II p. 523 as very vulgar and restricted
to use by peasants.

Puerto Rican boy. n. phrase. Marqués explains in his foot-
note (p. 142 of the cited text of La Carreta) that the
phrase is used by New Yorkers and has a marked pejorative
connotation and carries all the weight of the prejudice
against a minority in New York.

recogedor. n. masc. dustpan. (C).

requerete. n. masc. vulg. confusion, disorder. VPR p.
257.

rejender. v. tr. open a path through brambles or underbrush. Used chiefly by country people. DGA III p. 26.

revolú. n. masc. vulg. tangle or mess. VPR p. 259. According to EAPR pp. 321-2, it is a corruption of the Congolese word bululu: tangle or scandal. Listed in DGA III p. 36 as being specifically Puerto Rican.

rilif. n. Hispanization of relief (welfare payments). See footnote p. 142 of the cited edition of La Carreta.

sángano. n. masc. thief or sly person. (C).

sangrigordo. n. masc. Listed in VPR p. 264 as an adjective meaning fastidious. DGA III p. 66 listing is as an adjective meaning disagreeable. The latter seems more likely in this case.

serenata. n. fem. Marqués explains (La Carreta, cited edition, in footnote p. 69) that this is a typical dish made of tubers, rhizomes, plantain and bananas boiled with a compliment of boiled or roasted cod. VPR p. 267 calls it a salad of plantain, yam and cod with oil, vinegar and onion. DGA III p. 81 agrees with VPR.

set. n. masc. television set (Usually televisor in Spanish.) (C).

sicote. n. masc. filth, especially of the feet. Listed in DLE p. 1200 as being a localism in Cuba and Vizcaya.

sillón. n. masc. rocking chair VPR p. 268. Under sillón de hamaca in DGA III p. 86.

sóuei n. masc. Hispanization of subway. (C).

suera. n. fem. Hispanization of sweater. (C).

tajear. v. tr. cut apart or slice. VPR p. 273.

tala. n. fem. garden or arbor. VPR p. 272; DGA III p. 120 (identified as peculiar to Puerto Rico).

tengo. v. aux. I have. Used here in place of he, the usual auxiliary, as an idiomatic expression implying frequency. te tengo dicho: I have told you many times (C).

tirada. adj. Not listed, but the meaning here seems to be disarranged.

- títere. n. masc. trickster VPR p. 277; DGA III p. 179.
- tormentera. n. fem. guarded room; stormcellar. VPR p. 278.
- totirimundi < totilimundi. n. masc. DLE p. 1282 lists the meaning as mundonuevo: a sort of perambulating diorama, sometimes with moving figures. The use here may be figurative. However, it would seem more likely that the word is used in place of todo el mundo: everyone.
- trapo. n. masc. trash, rag. pejorative word used with de before another noun. e.g. trapo de sombrero: an old worn-out hat.
- trepo < treparse. v. tr. fornicate, screw up. DGA III p. 216.
- tumbe < tumbar. v. tr. cut off. VPR p. 282.
- tusa. n. fem. corn cob. cara de tusa is not listed as an idiom, but mas serio que una tusa (more serious than a corn cob) is listed in VPR p. 283. Thus, cara de tusa would seem to mean a serious look.
- vaina. n. fem. vulg. problem trouble. VPR p. 284; DGA III p. 248.
- varilla. n. fem. wand, twig. pintar la varilla is not listed, but probably means the same as dar la varilla and regar una varilla: to enjoy oneself. VPR p. 285.
- vellón. n. masc. Listed in DLE p. 1328 as a silver coin, but particularized as a five or ten centavo piece in VPR p. 286 and DGA III p. 255.
- vellonera. n. fem. Not listed, but obviously meaning a coin operated record player. Probably from vellon (which see).
- viandah < viandas. n. fem. Marqués explains in his footnote on p. 69 of the cited text of La Carreta that the term is used in Puerto Rico specifically to describe a mixture of plantain, green bananas, tubers and rhizomes, which are produced and eaten in the island. VPR p. 297 defines the word as fruits and edible tubers, such as ñame, plantain, yucca, yautía, yam, squash, and malanga cooked and placed on the table. DGA III p. 259 agrees.
- yanitol. n. masc. Hispanization of janitor, including the Jíbaro substitution of [l] for [r]. Marqués gives the meaning in his footnote to the cited text on p. 140.

yautía. n. fem. an edible root, the generic name of the malanga (Xanthosoma). The yautía amarilla is very common in Cuba and Puerto Rico and seems to be unknown in other areas. Designated as an old Indian word (Carib, Arawak, Taino) in VPR p. 291. DGA .III p. 288 gives the origin as being two Mayan words yaa: poison and te: mouth. Also in DVI p. 338 as an Arawak word.

SUMMARY

The ethnic background of the Jíbaro is quite diverse and includes 1) the native Indian peoples that inhabited the island prior to the discovery and settlement. 2) the Spanish settlers and conquerors of the island 3) the descendents of the transplanted Spaniards 4) slaves imported to work on the sugar and coffee plantations and 5) the North American conquerors, their military and civilian governors, and new residents. Added to these are Corsicans, Venezuelans, and refugees from Louisiana and Florida when they came under French rule or American rule. This diversity of settlers naturally had its effect on the speech of the peoples of the island. The effect was strongest in phonology and lexicon, but the morphology and syntax did not escape such influence.

The sources of the lexicon of Puerto Rican Spanish are the languages spoken by the various peoples who came to the island, by choice or by force of one kind or another. The largest numbers of lexical items are among 1) Spanish archaisms 2) Indian names for places, plants, and animals, 3) African words describing various foods, social functions and attitudes, place names, names of plants, and diverse musical and dance terms, and finally 4) Americanisms. These last are generally terms relating to government and technology. The number of distinctive lexical items is not inconsiderable. In the text of La carreta there are more than one-hundred-fifty words

not listed in the Spanish Royal Academy dictionary.

The morphology of the Jíbaro dialect is not greatly deviant from that of standard Spanish. There are some preferences for diminutives and augmentatives. The Puerto Rican prefers /-ito/ over all other diminutive suffixes, even after a stem ending in t. He prefers using the adjective gran or grande to adding an augmentative suffix such as /-ón/. The suffix /-ngo/ is used with frequency and is African in origin. There is a tendency to make compound adjectives from an adjective and the noun it modifies. The second person singular preterit has an /-s/ affixed inappropriately. There is some confusion of gender and of number in nouns. None of these is deviant enough to be a bar to understanding.

The deviations in syntax are not many. Among those noted by various authorities are: 1) redundant use of subject pronouns, 2) formation of a present progressive form, 3) over use of the passive voice, 4) placing the adverb between the auxiliary and the participle, 5) redundant use of the possessives, 6) substitution of the article for aqué1 in all its forms, 7) redundant use of uno. Also noted are agreement of the participle with the enclitic pronoun and the use of ir + a (going to) in place of the future tense.

The most deviant characteristic of the Jibaro dialect is the phonology. We may list: 1) the loss of final [s] or its replacement with [h] or [x], 2) loss of intervocalic [ʃ], 3) leveling or exchange of [l] and [r], 4) the use of [tʃ] and its voiced counterpart [dʒ] in place of [tʃ] and [dʒ], the invariable use of [ɸ] for [f], 6) the aspiration of initial h, 7) the invariable use of [ɲ] for absolute

final n, 8) the use of a uvular trill or spirant for rr and initial r, 9) the occasional use of [ɣ] for ll, and 10) a general lowering of [i], [e], [o] and [u] in unstressed syllables. These features, more than any deviations in syntax or morphology, make the Jíbaro somewhat difficult to understand.

Sections of La carreta by René Marqués are included and transcribed into the Jíbaro dialect, using the orthographic indications given by the author and information gleaned from authorities on Spanish phonology. Marqués is successful in the approximation of the dialect in several ways. He has not used much of the distinctive morphology, but has used the ir + a + infinitive and redundant use of the pronoun of the typical syntax. Of the phonology he indicates: 1) the loss of final [s] or its replacement with [h] or [x], 2) loss of intervocalic [ð], 3) exchange of [l] and [r], and 4) the occasional use of [ɣ] for ll. He has used a number of the lexical items that could be termed characteristic. Non-standard words from the play are defined in the glossary. They are asterisked in the sections transcribed.

A curriculum vitae of René Marqués is appended.

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CURRICULUM VITAE OF RENE MARQUES

RENÉ MARQUÉS

Curriculum Vitae*

Full Name: René Marqués García

Always Signed: René Marqués

Place of Birth: Arecibo, Puerto Rico

Date of Birth: October 4, 1919

Marital Status: Divorced

Children: Raúl Fernando, age 26
Brunilda María, age 24
Francisco René, age 22

Religion: Non-practicing Catholic

Political Ideology: For Puerto Rican Independence

Political Affiliation: None

Present Profession: Chief, Editorial Section, Division of
Community Education, Department of Public
Education

Writer in Residence, University of Puerto
Rico, Rio Piedras

Previous Employment: Agronomist, Department of Agriculture of
Puerto Rico (1943-1945)

Manager, Velasco Alonso, Inc., Arecibo,
Puerto, Rico (1945-1946)

Editor, Diario de Puerto Rico, San Juan
(1948-1949)

Studies: Agronomy (Graduate of Colegio de Agri-
cultura y Artes Mecánicas, Mayagüez,
Puerto Rico, 1943)

Courses in literature (Universidad Central
de Madrid, 1947)

*All information supplied by René Marqués

Playwriting:

Columbia University and simultaneously
Piscator's Dramatic Workshop of New
York (1949-1950)

**Scholarships and
Grants**

Rockefeller Foundation: For study at Co-
lumbia and Piscator's Dramatic Workshop

Extended to cover travel and study at
various theatres: Yale University, Catho-
lic University, University of North Caro-
lina at Chapel Hill, Cleveland Playhouse
and Karamu House, Cleveland

Further extension to purchase lighting
equipment of Teatro Experimental del
Ateneo (founded and directed by Marqués)
Equipment still in use.

Guggenheim Foundation: Grant for writ-
ing the novel La víspera del hombre (1958)

**Artistic and Cultural
achievements**

1. Founder and president of the chapter
of AREYTO (Sociedad Dramática Puertorri-
queña) in Arecibo, 1941.

2. Founder and president of Pro Arte de
Arecibo, 1946

3. Secretary of Junta de Directores del
Ateneo Puertorriqueño, 1950-1953

4. Founder and director of Teatro Experi-
mental del Ateneo, 1951-1954.

5. Co-founder and director of Club de
Libro de Puerto Rico, 1958-1960.

6. Co-producer of the theatre group,
Teatro Nuestro, 1950-1956.

**Literary and Theatre
Criticism**

Wrote criticism for, among others:

1. Puerto Rico Ilustrado
2. Alma Latina
3. El Mundo
4. World's Journal
5. El Imparcial
6. El Diario de Puerto Rico
7. Island Times
8. Asomante
9. The San Juan Star
10. El Día

11. La Prensa (New York)
12. El Diario (New York)
13. Cuadernos Americanos (Mexico)
14. Idea (Peru)
15. Novedades (Mexico)
16. Siempre (Mexico)

Works:

POETRY

Peregrinación, (San Juan: Imprenta Venequela, 1944)

THEATRE

1. El hombre y sus sueños, Asomante, 1948 (Not produced)
2. El sol y los MacDonald

Production:

Teatro Universitario, 1950

Publication:

Asomante. 1956

3. La carreta

Productions:

Nuevo Círculo Dramático, New York, 1953
 Teatro Experimental del Ateneo, 1953
 Nuevo Círculo Dramático, New York, 1954, 1955
 Teatro Tapia, 1954
 Teatro Alcázar, Caguas, 1954
 Teatro Nacional MARIA GUERRERO, Madrid, 1948
 Teatro Tapia (Festival de Teatro Puertorriqueño)
 1961
 University of Buffalo, 1966
 Greenwich Mews Theatre, New York, 1966-1967
 (English translation: The Oxcart)¹

Publications:

Asomante, 1953.
 Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña, 1961
 Librería Cultural, San Juan, 1963
 Librería Cultural, San Juan, 1967

¹René Marqués, The Oxcart, trans. by Charles Pilditch (Totowa, N.J.: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1969).

Scenes included in Las mejores escenas del teatro español e hispanoamericano, anthology by Antonio Espina (Madrid: Aguilar, 1959)

4. Juan Bobo y la Dama de Occidente (Puerto Rican pantomime for a western ballet). (Mexico: Editorial Los Presentes, 1956). (Not produced)

5. Palm Sunday (in English)

Production:

Teatro Tapia

6. Los soles truncos

Productions:

Teatro Tapia (Festival de Teatro Puertorriqueño), 1958

Goodman Theatre, Chicago, 1958 (in Spanish)

The Museum of Art and Science, Chicago, 1958
(in English) (no publication information)

Festival de Teatro Latinoamericano, Mexico, 1960

Teatro del Instituto Hispánico, Madrid, 1961

Teatro Universitario, University of Puerto Rico, 1963

Teatro La Perla, Ponce, Puerto Rico, 1963.

Teatro Calatrava, Salamanca, Spain, 1964.

Teatro Tapia (Festival de Teatro Puertorriqueño), 1966

Festival de Teatros Universitarios de España,
Valladolid, Spain, 1966

Teatro de la Universidad Nacional de México, 1966

Publications:

Teatro de René Marqués (Mexico: Editorial Arceife, 1958)

Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña, 1959

Librería Cultural, San Juan, 1965

Librería Cultural, San Juan, 1967

Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña, 1966

Latin American Literature. anthology by Willis

Knapp Jones (New York: 1963)² (fragments in English translation)

²Only similar title found Spanish American Literature since 1888
(New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1963)

7. La muerte no entrará en palacio

Publications:

Teatro de René Marqués (Mexico: Editorial Arrecife, 1958)

Teatro Hispanoamericano Contemporáneo ed. by Carlos Solorzano (2 vols. Mexico: Fondo de Cultura, 1965)

8. Un niño azul para esa sombra

Productions:

Teatro Experimental del Ateneo, 1960.

Teatro Tapia (Festival de Teatro Puertorriqueño) 1962

Publications:

Teatro de René Marqués (Mexico: Editorial Arrecife, 1958)

Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña (San Juan, 1963)

9. La casa sin reloj

Productions:

Teatro Experimental del Ateneo, 1962

Grupo Dramático Puertorriqueño, New York, 1965

Publication:

Universidad Veracruzana, Veracruz, Mexico, 1962

10. Carnaval afuera, carnaval adentro

Production:

Festival de Teatro Latinoamericano, Havana, Cuba, 1963

In publication

11. El apartamento

Production:

Teatro Tapia (Festival de Teatro Puertorriqueño) 1965

Publication:

Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña, 1966

12. Mariana o el alba**Productions:**

Teatro Tapia (Festival de Teatro Puertorriqueño)
1966
Teatro Universitario, University of Puerto Rico,
1966

Publications:

Edicion Villa Nevares, 1966
Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña, 1967

13. Sacrificio en el Monte Moriah**Publication:**

Editorial Antillana (San Juan: 1969)

STORIES**Volumes:**

1. Otro día nuestro (San Juan: Imprenta Venezuela, 1955)
2. Cuentos puertorriqueños de hoy, anthology with note and prologue by the author (San Juan: Club de Libro de Puerto Rico, 1959)
3. En una ciudad llamada San Juan, First edition (Mexico: Universidad Nacional, 1960). Second edition (Havana: Casa de las Americas, 1962)

In Serials:

1. "La crucifixión de Miss Bunning," Asomante, 1964
2. "La chiringa azul," Asomante, 1966.

NOVEL

La víspera del hombre (San Juan: Club de Libro de Puerto Rico, 1959)

ESSAYS

Volume:

Ensayos (1953-1966) (San Juan: Editorial Antillana, 1966)

In serial or anthology:

1. "Un autor, un intrínquilis y una obra," Asomante, 1953.
2. "Mensaje de un puertorriqueño a los escritores y artistas de Perú," Idea (Lima, 1955); Cuadernos Americanos (Mexico, 1955); Los Presentes, (Mexico, 1956).
3. "Un personaje del folklore y un tema puertorriqueño de farsa: ensayo prologal a Juan Bobo y La Dama de Occidente," Los Presentes (Mexico, 1956)
4. "Pesimismo literario y optimismo político: su coexistencia en el Puerto Rico actual," Cuadernos Americanos (Mexico, 1958)
5. "El cuento puertorriqueño en la promoción del cuarenta: ensayo prologal a Cuentos puertorriqueños de hoy," (San Juan: Club de Libro de Puerto Rico, 1959)
6. "Las tres vertientes del problema del idioma," El Mundo, 1960.
7. "El ruido y la furia de los críticos del Sr. Kazin," The San Juan Star, 1960 (Originally written by the author in English and entitled, "The Sound and the Fury of Mr. Kazin's [sic] Critics.")
8. "El puertorriqueño dócil," Cuadernos Americanos (Mexico, 1962); Revista de Ciencias Sociales de la Universidad de Puerto Rico (Rio Piedras; 1963); Ensayos (see above)
9. "La función del escritor en el Puerto Rico actual," Cuadernos Americanos (Mexico, 1963).
10. "Nacionalismo vs. Universalismo," Cuadernos Americanos (Mexico, 1966)

Prizes:

Reporting:

Instituto de Literatura Puertorriqueña, 1947

Stories:

Ateneo Puertorriqueño: First Prize in 1948, 1955, 1956, 1958; Second Prize in 1956; Third Prize in 1959.

Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña: Only prize for historical short story. (no date given)

Concurso Casa de las Américas, Havana, Cuba: Honorable Mention in 1962.

Theatre:

Ateneo Puertorriqueño: Prize in 1957, 1958, 1961, 1963.

Casa de las Américas, Havana, Cuba: Honorable Mention in 1962.

Novel:

Ateneo Puertorriqueño: First Prize in 1958.

William Faulkner Foundation: Prize for Spanish American novel in 1962.

Essay:

Ateneo Puertorriqueño: First Prize in 1958 and 1962.

TRANSLATIONS**Theatre:****1. La carreta**

Czech: Kara (Prague: Editorial Orbis, 1966)

English: The Oxcart (Totowa, N.J.: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1969)

Swedish: Presently in translation

2. Los soles truncos

English: The House on Cristo Street by the Chicago Community Theatre, 1958.

The Truncated Suns, in process of translation by Dr. Charles Pilditch, Rutgers University.

3. La casa sin reloj

English: Translation in progress for Macmillan

Czech: Translation in progress for Editions
Odeon, Prague

SCHOLARLY WORKS ON RENÉ MARQUÉS

Master of Arts Theses:

Eunice Lugo, "René Marqués: The Man and His Work" (Unpublished MA Thesis, Brooklyn College, 1964).

Lucile Munson, "The Works of René Marqués" (Unpublished MA Thesis, Louisiana State University, 1964).

Paula Swanson, "Los cuentos de René Marqués" (Unpublished MA Thesis, Hunter College, 1967).

Doctoral Dissertations:

Charles Pilditch, Jr., "A Study of the Literary Works of René Marqués from 1948 to 1962" (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Rutgers University, 1966).

Victoria Espinosa de Maisonet, "Análisis técnico y estilístico de Los soles truncos de René Marqués" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Universidad Nacional de México, 1967).

VITA

The author was born on December 10, 1930 in Toledo, Ohio. He attended the Boardman School in Youngstown, Ohio for all of his primary and secondary education. Upon graduation he attended Youngstown State University in Youngstown, Ohio. From 1952 to 1954 he was an enlisted man in the United States Army and was honorably discharged. He then returned to Youngstown State University and completed his undergraduate degree in 1955. The following year he attended Bowling Green State University and accrued nineteen graduate hours there. The next three years were spent in personnel in industry. He then attended Kent State University for courses in education and began teaching in secondary school.

In 1960 he began graduate work in Speech Pathology at Tulane University and graduated with a Master of Science degree in 1964. The thesis topic was, "A Study of the Speech of Certain Students at Xavier University of Louisiana (Negro)." He taught at Xavier University for four years. He then began work on the doctorate in speech with a minor in linguistics at Louisiana State University in Baton Rouge.